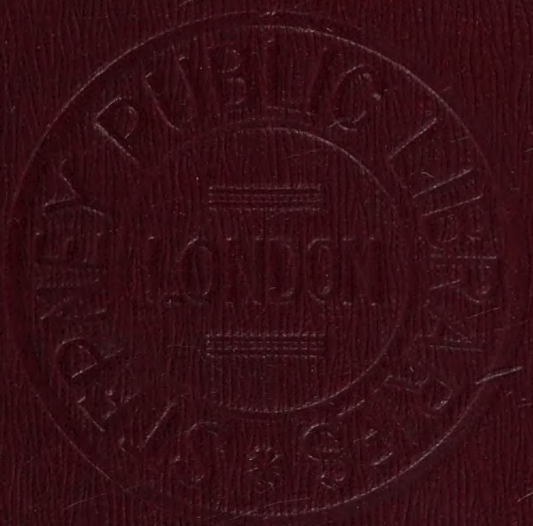
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METROPOLITAN
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AN

Introduction

TO

English Antiquities;

INTENDED AS A

Companion to the History of England.

BY

JAMES ECCLESTON, B.A.

HEAD MASTER OF SUTTON COLDFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL, WARWICKSHIRE.

O blessed Letters! that combine in one
All ages past, and make one live with all:
By you we do confer with who are gone,
And the dead-living unto council call.

DANIELL.

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TO

SIR FRANCIS LAWLEY, BART.

AND THE OTHER

Trustees of Sutton Coldfield Grammar School,

THIS WORK,

ORIGINALLY COMMENCED FOR THE USE

OF

THE ANCIENT FOUNDATION OVER WHICH THEY PRESIDE,

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF GRATITUDE AND RESPECT,

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PREFACE.

THIS book is designed to supply a want long felt by the public as well as in the schools and universities of England. Works are certainly to be met with, devoted to the elucidation of particular branches of British Archæology, and full of interesting matter and laborious research; but these are in general costly, bulky, and inconvenient; and hitherto there has been no treatise which exhibited, in a form adapted for general use, the results of the labours of modern antiquaries upon the various subjects embraced by the comprehensive term of "English Antiquities."

Under these circumstances it seemed likely that at a period like the present, when a great and growing taste for the relics of the past has sprung up among all classes, a work illustrating the antiquities of England from the earliest times, and comprising a general account of its Political Institutions, Religion, Learning and Arts, Naval and Military Affairs, Com-

merce and Agriculture, Manners and Customs, would form a useful acquisition to all who wish to obtain information on this important, but hitherto much-neglected, branch of study. In its compilation, the main object has been to present a convenient manual and ready guide for the young student, or for those who, having but recently commenced the pursuit, might feel embarrassed by the riches around them, and be desirous of some compendious digest upon which they could consolidate and arrange the stores of information gleaned from various quarters. But the Author, though he does not profess to instruct the Antiquary, ventures to hope that even he will derive some advantage from the systematic form into which the enormous mass of existing materials have here been reduced.

As most debateable questions in British archæology have already been settled by competent authority, or at least left in such a state that all mere conjectures are now precluded to any commentator, it has not seemed necessary to encumber the book with constant references, as it professes merely to lead the reader into the way of studying and judging for himself. Copious lists, however, of such authors as may best assist those who have taste and leisure for more extensive investigations, are given in the Appendix, and it will be understood that it is upon their

authority generally that all statements are made in the text. The introduction of illustrations in such a work is by no means new, but it is hoped that the number and arrangement of the engravings here presented, with the care that has been taken to procure them from the most authentic sources, will tend to give a clearer and more picturesque idea of the several subjects to which they are annexed, and with which the original design is invariably *contemporary*.

The work has been materially benefited by the kindness of Mr. Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, and Mr. Newton, of the same department, with other distinguished Antiquaries, to whom the Author desires to return his most sincere thanks for their many invaluable attentions throughout its progress; and would add that he will be happy to receive from his more experienced brethren any hints of correction or addition which their research may supply, in the event of a future edition being called for.

Chronological List

OF THE

KINGS OF ENGLAND — TO THE REVOLUTION.

A.D. NORMANS.

1066. William I.
1087. William II.
1100. Henry I.
1135. Stephen.

PLANTAGENETS.

1154. Henry II.
1189. Richard I.
1199. John.
1216. Henry III.
1272. Edward I.
1307. Edward II.
1327. Edward III.
1377. Richard II.

HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

1399. Henry IV.
1413. Henry V.
1422. Henry VI.

HOUSE OF YORK.

1461. Edward IV.
[1470. Henry VI. (restored.)]
1471. Edward IV. (restored.)
1483. Edward V.
1483. Richard III.

TUDORS.

1485. Henry VII.
1509. Henry VIII.
1547. Edward VI.
1553. Mary.
1558. Elizabeth.

STUARTS.

1603. James I.
1625. Charles I.
1649. Commonwealth.
1660. Charles II.
1685. James II.

1688. William III.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

BRITISH PERIOD. —— TO A.D. 449.

		Page
CHAP. I.	Political Institutions - - - - -	1
II.	Religion - - - - - -	7
III.	Learning and Arts - - - - -	13
IV.	Naval and Military Affairs - - - -	17
V.	Commerce and Agriculture - - - -	20
VI.	Manners and Customs - - - - -	23

BOOK II.

SAXON PERIOD. A.D. 449—1066.

CHAP. I.	Political Institutions - - - - -	27
II.	Religion - - - - - -	40
III.	Learning and Arts - - - - -	48
IV.	Naval and Military Affairs - - - -	62
V.	Commerce and Agriculture - - - -	66
VI.	Manners and Customs - - - - -	72

BOOK III.

NORMAN PERIOD. A.D. 1066—1216.

CHAP. I.	Political Institutions - - - - -	77
II.	Religion - - - - - -	90
III.	Learning and Arts - - - - -	97
IV.	Naval and Military Affairs - - - -	113
V.	Commerce and Agriculture - - - -	120
VI.	Manners and Customs - - - - -	125

BOOK IV.

EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD. A. D. 1216—1483.

		Page
CHAP. I.	Political Institutions - - - - -	131
II.	Religion - - - - - -	144
III.	Learning and Arts - - - - -	158
IV.	Naval and Military Affairs - - - -	183
V.	Commerce and Agriculture - - - -	195
VI.	Manners and Customs - - - - -	208

BOOK V.

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD. A. D. 1483—1603.

CHAP. I.	Political Institutions - - - - -	224
II.	Religion - - - - - -	235
III.	Learning and Arts - - - - -	258
IV.	Naval and Military Affairs - - - -	279
V.	Commerce and Agriculture - - - -	285
VI.	Manners and Customs - - - - -	300

BOOK VI.

LATER ENGLISH PERIOD. A. D. 1603—1689.

CHAP. I.	Political Institutions - - - - -	320
II.	Religion - - - - - -	334
III.	Learning and Arts - - - - -	358
IV.	Naval and Military Affairs - - - -	393
V.	Commerce and Agriculture - - - -	399
VI.	Manners and Customs - - - - -	423

THE

ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

BRITISH PERIOD. —— TO A. D. 449.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. The history of most nations commences with a confession of ignorance; nor is that of the British tribes exempt from the general rule. Down to the 17th century, indeed, our ancestors were content with the sufficiently extravagant belief that they were descended from a colony of Trojans, headed by a leader of the name of Brutus, a grandson of Æneas, whose mighty exploits have been recorded at great length in high-sounding verse and no less magniloquent prose. There is no doubt, however, that the original inhabitants of these kingdoms were a Celtic race, which had in all probability migrated hither in successive swarms from the opposite coast of Gaul.* The name of Britain, which they gave to the

* The word Celt has been derived from Caoiltich, a *woodland people;* from κέλης, a horse, and from Gaeltach. Gael is perhaps connected with Waelsch, the German for *strangers*. The Celts and Teutons or Goths, the two great peoplers of Europe, though widely differing in many respects, belong to the same Caucasian family, and their languages sprang no doubt from the same ancestral tongue.

land of their settlement, has been subjected to a great variety of interpretations, amongst which the most reasonable perhaps are those of *Brit-daoine*, or *painted people*, and *Bruit-tan*, the *metal* or *tin land*. The Celtic population of Ireland, in which a high degree of civilisation seems to have existed at a very early period, would appear to have been derived rather from Spain than Gaul, and has been traced by some authors in a direct line to the Oriental world. The ancient name of that island is variously written *Eire*, meaning the *west* or *extremity*, and *Eirin* or *Irin*, the *Sacred Isle*. The early inhabitants of Scotland were not improbably derived from the Teutonic races of Scandinavia, amongst whom a band of Irish Celts appear afterwards to have settled, and given birth to the numerous clans distinguished by the name of Highlanders. Whatever may have been the origin of the Scotch, they were at first called Caledonians by the Southern Britons, an appellation derived from *caoill*, a *wood*, and *daoine*, a *people*; and afterwards Picts, apparently from the Latin word *picti*. The name of Scotia was originally applied exclusively to Ireland, and has been conjectured to be derived from a colony of *Scuit* or Scythians. It was not given to Scotland till the 11th or 12th century, after the Irish "Scots" had migrated extensively to the western coasts.

The Welsh, who received their name of *Wilisc* or *foreigners*, from the Anglo-Saxons, were long thought to be the genuine descendants of the ancient Britons, but have been described by later authors as a branch of the Picts, who descended upon Wales at some uncertain period from their settlements in the east of Scotland. This is partly confirmed by their language, which differs in many points from the Gaelic or Irish.

2. All our direct information with regard to the condition of these various tribes is derived from the writers of Greece and Rome, who became acquainted with these islands after the invasion of Julius Cæsar, in the year 55 B.C. At that time, according to the geographer Ptolemy, seventeen different peoples inhabited the region of England and Wales, and eighteen others were scattered over the barren surface of

North Britain.* These tribes were far enough from forming any thing like a community of nations, and were, indeed, generally engaged in bitter war with each other; yet there were certain general ties of feeling if not of nationality which bound them together at the approach of a common enemy, though without imparting a sufficient degree of union to offer any effectual resistance. Their government was, in form at least, monarchical; but under the sovereign in each people the heads of clans exercised an authority almost supreme over their respective followers. The rules of regal succession were not very strict; but it seems on the whole to have been hereditary, though not necessarily vested in the eldest son. In the northern parts of England, as for a long time afterwards in Ireland and Wales, a successor was named in the lifetime of the reigning king, who was called the Tanist, and was generally the nearest or most worthy relation. There was no distinction of sexes in this succession, and a daughter or widow might readily be admitted to the throne of the deceased sovereign, if there were no personal objection. The power of the monarch, however, was in all cases very limited, and his chief prerogative was that of commanding the forces in time of war, not without many interruptions even then from the subordinate chieftains, and still more from the ever-busy Druids. In time of peace it was reduced almost to a cipher; for the Druids monopolised all real authority, declared and executed the laws, and pronounced the only effectual sentence in the dreadful decree of excommunication, by which the unhappy criminal was expelled from all communion in religious rites or intercourse of society, and placed utterly beyond the pale of legal protection. Certain places were appointed for the holding of their courts, and a supreme tribunal is supposed to have been fixed at the residence of the Arch-Druid in the Isle of Anglesey, where some traces of a sacred circle still remain. The laws which they administered, and which were believed to be the direct decrees of

* For their names and arrangement, see the common geographies and atlases.

Heaven, were couched in mysterious verse, and forbidden to be committed to writing. We may discern, however, the institution of marriage, a provision for children by equal division of the father's property, and the traces of a rigid criminal code. The revenues of the kings were apparently scanty and precarious, and the Druids took care to exempt themselves from any contributions to these or to any other public burdens.

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3. The invasion of the Romans at length substituted the regular forms of civilisation for these rude arrangements of barbarous life, and introduced personal security, arts, letters, and elegance into the wild retreats of the uncultivated Briton. Alliances were formed with several tribes, and their chiefs encouraged to put themselves under Roman protection. These soon became mere vassals of Rome, and even gloried in the title: their subjects learnt to speak the Latin language, adopted Latin names, clad themselves in rich raiment, and vied with the conquerors in every Roman luxury. In other districts, particularly toward the eastern side of the island, it would seem that the British nobles were wholly swept away and the land allotted to Roman colonists, under whom the meaner class of natives were soon reduced to the condition of slaves of the soil. Nor was it only Roman citizens who obtained these grants and privileges on the conquered territory, for the barbarians of various countries also, who had served under the imperial eagle, were often presented with whole districts in the hope of retaining their faithful services. These Liuti or *people*, as they called themselves*, were planted, indeed, throughout the empire upon the Lætic lands, of which they received possession by the direct writ of the Emperor. In Britain, upwards of forty barbarian

* In Anglo-Saxon, Leod (German, leute), whence our English word *lewd*, which for a long time meant simply a man of low station—"certain lewd fellows of the baser sort." It is probably from the same root as λαὸς. Hesychius calls public lands λαῖτα.

legions, some of Teutonic origin, others Moors, Dalmatians, and Thracians, were thus settled, chiefly upon the northern and eastern coasts, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman walls. In these border plantations may be found the germ of the feudal tenures (of which more hereafter), every successor to property being obliged, at eighteen years of age, to join the legion to which his father had belonged.

4. The city of Verulamium, near the present St. Alban's, was made a municipium or *free town*, and London was admitted to similar advantages. Both were soon crowded with inhabitants, zealous partisans of Rome, and the latter place in particular became a town of great trade and consequence. The wise Roman system not only filled the towns with people, but in a short time adorned them with temples, theatres, and public buildings, and all the monuments of Italian magnificence. Before the arrival of Agricola, however, their government was extremely oppressive; but the Perpetual Edict of Adrian (A. D. 131) restrained the tyranny of the provincial presidents, and laid down a uniform system for the administration of justice throughout the empire.

5. Britain was at length divided into five provinces, extending, as it appears, from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel, and embracing the seventeen South British and five of the North British tribes. For the purposes of government they were comprehended in the prefecture of Gaul (one of the four great divisions of the empire under Constantine), and, taken collectively, were called a diocese, and governed by a vicar or *deputy*, who resided chiefly at London, in great pomp and state. Under him were placed the five governors of provinces, called presidents or consuls, who collected the revenues and administered justice, without any appeal save to the Emperor himself.

6. The military command was intrusted to three principal officers, the Comes (count) of the Saxon shore, the Comes of Britain, and the Dux (duke) of the Britains.* The entire

* The Comes Augusti at first meant only the confidential friend of the Emperor; but afterwards these companions were promoted to every

force under these officers is supposed to have been about 19,200 foot and 1700 horse.

7. A considerable revenue, calculated by some writers at not less than 2,000,000*l.* a year, was raised by the conquerors of Britain from the land tax, pasture tax, and customs; besides legacy duties, and those levied on the sale of slaves, auctions of goods, &c. &c. These were collected by an imperial procurator, and generally let out to public farmers, at a certain yearly rent.

8. The influence acquired by these important revenues, and the forces placed at their command, induced some of the generals stationed in Britain to throw off the yoke of Rome, and to set up a little special *tyranny* for themselves.

The most remarkable of these was Carausius, a native of the country, who assumed the purple and title of Augustus, and reigned for some time in great splendour. After the final departure of the Romans (A.D. 420), a Roman and a British party were formed in the southern parts; the one headed by Aurelius Ambrosius, a descendant of one of the emperors, the other by the well-known Vortigern. The rest of the island was divided amongst a multitude of petty chiefs, who wasted their strength in mad contests with each other, whilst religious discord lent her fatal aid, and famine and pestilence demoralised the people, until they sank at last under the wasting forays of the Picts and Scots, and the more permanent invasion of the warlike Saxons.

dignity, still retaining their title. In particular, the Comes Stabuli became the modern constable. The Saxon shore was the south and east coast of Britain, which was much infested by Saxon pirates from the time of the third century.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION.

1. IN the history of this country, religion seems at all times to have been mixed up with civil affairs, and the decided tendency of the people, whether under the reign of Paganism or of Christianity, to have been towards a National Church. Among the ancient Britons the ministers of religion were also the chief legislators and administrators of law, and almost the sole depositaries of such knowledge and civilisation as the country possessed. Corrupted and false as was their religion, they at least deserve the praise of having studied it with such care that the Gauls, when they desired to know its principles more perfectly, usually took a journey into Britain for that purpose. The priests who performed the rites of this peculiar superstition are well known by the name of Druids, a word of which various derivations have been given.*

To this body, which occupied by far the highest position in the country, was intrusted the performance of sacred ceremonies, the instruction of youth, and the execution of the judicial office, in almost all disputes, both public and private.

2. The religious system of the Druids, like that of most ancient priesthoods, was probably twofold, containing one set of doctrines suited to the people, and another only communicated to the initiated, who were bound by oath to keep inviolate the solemn secret. It is said that this esoteric or inner teaching was based on the unity of God and the future existence of the immortal soul, whilst their exoteric or outer

* The most probable, however, seems to be that which brings it from the Celtic word Drui, *an oak*, in the plural, Druidhe. This is evidently the same as the Greek δρῦς, and even the English word *tree*, which in the Mœsogothic was written triu.

discourses were filled with fables fitted only for the ear of the vulgar. The simplest and earliest form seems to have been the worship of the sun and moon, and of fire. The sun was adored under the name of Bel or Baal, and the moon regulated the times of their four great religious festivals.* Another remarkable principle was the worship of the serpent, and it has been conjectured that the great druidical temples, such as Stonehenge, were constructed for the united worship of the serpent and the sun. Afterwards, however, the number of deities was considerably increased, amongst whom the chief were Teutates, who resembled the Egyptian Thoth and the Latin Mercury; Hesus, the god of war†; Jow (*young*), or Jupiter; and Taranis, the ruler of thunder.

The early system does not seem to have admitted covered temples or sculptured images of the gods; but, at a later period, material representations were freely introduced.

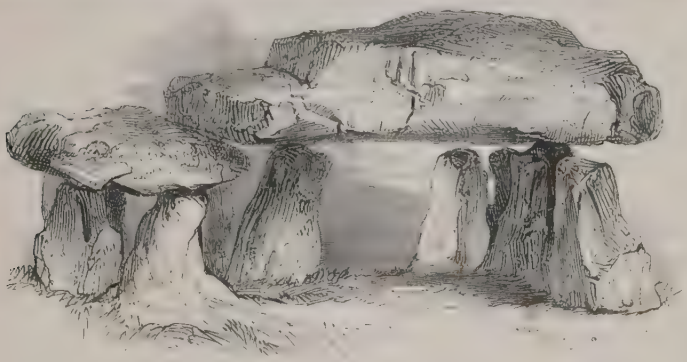
3. Their religious ceremonies were performed amidst the deep gloom of the dense oak woods, or within huge circles of upright stones‡, watered by a holy fountain. Near the site of a

* These were held on the sixth day of the moon nearest to the 10th of March (which was their New Year's day), when the mistletoe was gathered; on the 1st of May (still called in Ireland and Scotland Beltein or Bel fire), when all fires were relighted from the sacred hearths of the temples; on Midsummer eve, when fires and sacrifices were made for a blessing on the crops; and on the last day of October, when they were kindled in token of thanksgiving for the harvest.

† In Hebrew, Hizzuz means *very strong*, and is applied as an epithet to the Almighty, Ps. xxiv. 8.

‡ The celebrated druidical monument of Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, consisted of a double circle of huge stones, in the outer of which seventeen still remain in their original position, each fourteen feet in height. On their tops a continuous impost of large flat stones, carefully fitted in with mortises and tenons, was laid. The inner circle seems to have had much smaller stones and no imposts, and within it were five distinct erections, each consisting of two very large stones with an impost, and three smaller stones in front, which have been called *trilithons*. The largest stone in the edifice is twenty-one feet six inches in height. Within these was a stone now called the altar-stone. The conjectures with regard to the character and use of this vast monument of ancient times are sufficiently numerous; but it seems most reasonable to suppose

temple often rises a sacred mount, from which it is conjectured that the priests used to address the people, and in the centre is sometimes found the cromlech, or *stone of bowing*, a flat stone



Cromlech.

laid upon others set perpendicularly in the earth: on this rude altar their sacrifices were offered, often of human beings, who were sometimes also burnt alive in colossal images of wicker-work. The gathering of the mistletoe was an occasion of great pomp and show. A solemn procession was made to the sacred oak; two white bulls were bound to the tree by the horns; and a Druid, clothed in white, cut the plant with a knife of gold, while it was received by another standing beneath in his priestly robe. The sacrifice of the victims and festive rejoicings followed this great event.

The origin of Druidism has been sought in the East, especially in Persia and India; in Europe it was probably confined to Ireland, South Britain, and Gaul, until the severity of the Roman edicts drove its priests into Scotland and the Isle of Man. Its memory is still preserved in bonfires, the tricks of Allhallow-Eve, and other traditional customs of the peasantry.

4. The whole body of priests was divided into three classes,

that it had a religious character, connected perhaps with the rites of the East, in which somewhat similar remains are still to be found. It might also have been used occasionally as a seat of justice.

Druids, Vates, and Bards. The Bards were poets and musicians; the Vates, priests and prophets (in Celtic Faidh); and the Druids, the highest order of priests and sacrificers. Over the entire order presided the Archdruid, who was elected from among the most eminent of his fellows by a plurality of votes. This station was so honourable, powerful, and lucrative, that the election sometimes occasioned a contest of arms. The Druids proper seem to have lived in a kind of monastic or collegiate life, and were allowed particular privileges in dress.

5. This native priesthood was violently attacked by the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius, on the alleged ground of their atrocious sacrifices, but in reality, perhaps, from jealousy of their influence. The Roman subjects were henceforth obliged to build temples, erect statues, and worship after the Roman manner; but the ancient faith long survived in spite of persecution, and even after both forms of heathenism had ceased to exist, continued to plague the Christian bishops and kings by the occasional appearance of its idolatrous rites. There is a law of King Canute against the worship of the sun, moon, &c., so late as the 11th century.

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6. The precise date of the introduction of Christianity into Britain cannot be determined; but it appears certain that it was at an early period. Before the close of the first century, Christian refugees may have fled thither from the persecutions on the Continent, and Christian soldiers and civilians may have accompanied the Roman armies. Thus might Christian communities be gradually formed, buildings appropriated to Christian worship, and the necessary ecclesiastical government established. It has been often ascribed indeed to one of the apostles, and especially St. Paul, or to some of the early disciples, for which views several arguments may certainly be found. Without disputing this point, however, it appears that at the beginning of the 3d century, the Church had already spread largely throughout the island, and even, as Tertullian remarks, into those parts hitherto inaccessible to the Roman arms. Its extent and importance soon attracted persecution, and, under Diocletian, its first martyr, St. Alban, perished along

with many others whose names are not recorded. In the 4th century, the great change which took place in the Roman empire, upon the conversion of Constantine the Great, naturally embraced Britain, which was henceforth considered as a part of the Western Church, and was placed on a full equality with the churches of Spain and Gaul. The clergy seem, however, to have continued poor, for they alone accepted the offer of royal support from Constantius.

7. In this age the heresy of Arius penetrated into Britain, though here it seems to have made but little way.* The only ostensible difference with the continental churches which had yet arisen was about the time of keeping Easter, in which the British followed the computation of Asia instead of Rome; nor was this dispute as yet of the consequence to which we shall afterwards find it attain.† A more dangerous innovator was found in Pelagius, himself a Briton, whose opinions spread rapidly throughout his native land in the course of the fifth century. The orthodox clergy, not being able to withstand his disciples, invited two Gallican bishops, Germanus and Lupus, to their assistance, who obtained a complete victory over the Pelagians, at least for the time. Peace was not fully restored, however, until the chiefs of the party were banished from the island. ‡

* Arius maintained that the Son was distinct from the Father, though still a Divine Being, and the first and noblest of all God's creations. The modern Socinians assert that Christ is a mere man, though a very great and holy one.

† The Romans kept Easter on the first Sunday between the 14th and 22d day of the first moon after the vernal equinox. The Asiatics, Gallicans, and Britons, on the first Sunday between the 13th and 21st. Thus, if the 14th happened to be a Sunday, the one party would hold the feast on that day, the other not till the Sunday after, whence the first were called Quartodecimans.

‡ The chief heads of Pelagianism are said to have been, — that Adam was naturally mortal, and would have died even though he had not sinned; that Adam's sin affected only himself, but not his posterity; that children at their birth are as pure and innocent as Adam at his creation; that the grace of God is not necessary to enable men to overcome temptation, or even to attain perfection, but that they may effect all this by the freedom of their own will and the exercise of their natural powers.

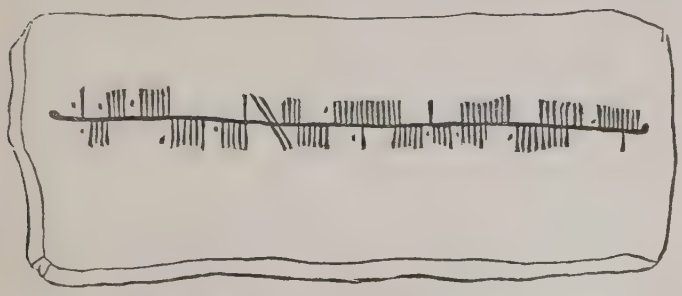
8. Of the government and discipline of the British Church we know but little. That it was ruled by bishops appears from the fact that three prelates sat as representatives of the province at the Council of Arles, in France, A. D. 314; and again, along with a presbyter and a deacon, at the Councils of Sardica (A. D. 347), and of Ariminum (A. D. 359). Their attendance at these synods, moreover, is recorded quite as a matter of course. It is clear, however, that it was never in any way subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, or, indeed, of any foreign bishop. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem were frequent towards the close of this period, and the monastic order already presents itself to our view in various quarters.

9. Copies of the Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, seem to have circulated freely amongst the British Christians; and there is sufficient evidence to show that the great doctrines of religion were held and explained as in the Church of England at the present day. The British Liturgy is believed to have agreed with the Gallican, in opposition to the Roman, and has thus been ingeniously traced up by some writers to St. John, whose disciples are said to have founded the Gallican Church.

CHAPTER III.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

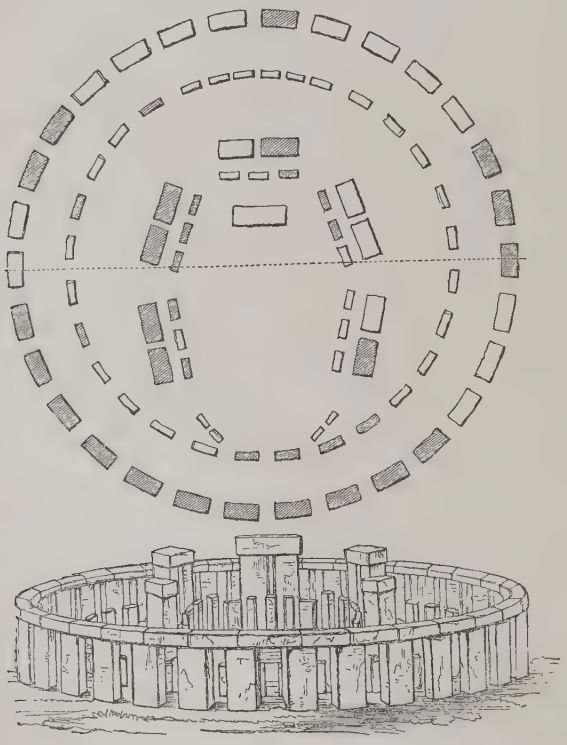
1. THE learning of the ancient Britons, as might be expected, was chiefly to be found amongst the Druids, to whom was left the whole intellectual culture of the nation, and who were not very likely to train any students unless intended for their own profession. The secrecy in which they wrapped their principles, and the law which forbade them to commit any thing to writing, have prevented us from obtaining much information upon this interesting subject. We know, however, that their pupils sometimes remained as long as twenty years under tuition, and that they were instructed during that time in theology, natural philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and the art of writing, which they were permitted to use upon common occasions. The characters which they used are supposed to have been Greek, until the Roman alphabet was introduced; but we find, also, very curious ancient inscriptions, which have been called Ogham or Ogma,



Ogham Characters. (From a stone found near Ennis.)

traced upon stones in different parts of Ireland. The branch of science which appears to have been most studied, on

account of its connexion with the prevailing system of religion, was astronomy, in which they really seem to have made considerable progress. Nor was their knowledge of mechanics contemptible: huge pillars, formed of single stones, some of them above forty tons in weight, are still to be found in various places, and sometimes, as at the great circle of Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, they support immense



Plan and Elevation of Stonehenge restored. (The shaded stones are still remaining.)

blocks laid along their tops. Some of the rocking-stones, also, which are hundreds of tons in weight, and poised upon points of stone so nicely as to move with a single touch of the hand, appear evidently to have been placed by art in their strange position.* Eloquence was also assiduously cul-

* The singular round towers of Scotland and Ireland have been

tivated, and held in the highest honour; and poetry was almost the native tongue of the Celtic tribes. The bards are said to have used a great variety of measures and many kinds of versification, and sang their songs to the music of the harp. Their persons were held sacred, and their performances highly rewarded. Magic and divination were also taught, and the knowledge of future events was drawn from the entrails of victims and the flight and feeding of certain birds, as systematically as among the more polished nations of the South.

2. The common people of Britain spent their time chiefly in hunting or tending their cattle, and occasionally, along the sea-coast, in agriculture. They lived in caves, or in rude hovels made of poles and wattled-work, raised in a circular form, with high tapering roofs, and a hole at the top to let the light in and the smoke out, both of which offices, no doubt, it very imperfectly fulfilled. They displayed their greatest skill in the erection of sacred circles and of fortifications, which are yet to be seen in many places, admirably situated, and strongly walled round in several enclosures. Of their knowledge of carpentry we know but little, but their instruments (called *celts*) are often found, and their six different kinds of carriages would show that they were not deficient in this useful art. Carving was also practised, and their wicker-work is mentioned with praise by Juvenal and Martial. The British earthenware was but rudely formed and imperfectly baked, and its remains are most commonly found in sepulchral monuments. The art of working in metals was undoubtedly known, and moulds for spear, arrow, and axe heads, have been frequently discovered. The metal of which the British weapons and tools were made has been analysed, and found to consist of one part of tin, and six, seven and a half, or ten, of copper. The arts of spinning, weaving, and felting woollen cloth were well known, together with those of bleaching and dying, especially in blue, which was performed with the herb *isatis*, or woad. The original vest-

assigned by the latest writers to the period between the 5th and 13th centuries, and to an ecclesiastical origin.

ments of the people were most probably, however, of skins. Painting, or, rather, tattooing, was first practised upon their bodies, on which they drew figures of beasts, birds, and trees; but after clothing came into general use, they transferred this style of ornament with more decency to their shields.

3. The Roman arts and sciences were introduced by Agricola, A.D. 78, and were adopted with eagerness by the youths of Britain. The Greek and Latin languages were soon generally understood and spoken, the Roman laws studied with care, and schools established in all the principal towns. Amongst the learned men of this time may be mentioned Pelagius and his disciple Celestius, with St. Ninian and St. Patrick, who, however, belong in part to the next period. The Romans taught them also to build houses and group them into towns, and in the third century Britain had become so famous for its builders and architects that they were often sent for to distant countries — to work deep mines of tin, lead, and iron, and even of silver and gold — to make roads, of which four great highways may still be traced, and of which the famous London Stone, now sunk in the wall of St. Swithin's Church, Cannon Street, is supposed to have been the great central mile-stone — to construct vast walls of defence, of which some massy fragments yet remain — to coin money in more regular forms — besides other useful arts, which will be recorded in their proper place.

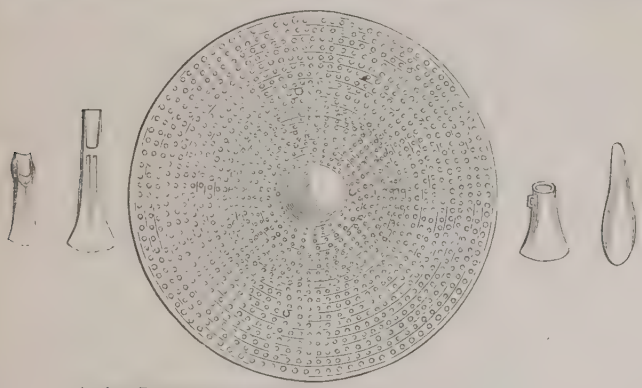
The condition of Britain was thus greatly improved, and we find, in consequence, several glowing panegyrics pronounced upon its happy state by the orators of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER IV.

NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. ALL the youth of the Britons, except the Druids, were trained to arms from the earliest age, and their very diversions were invariably of a martial cast. Their armies were marshalled by clans, each commanded by its own chieftain, and these again controlled by the king of their own particular state. When two or more states formed an alliance in war, one of the allied kings was chosen general-in-chief. This was obviously a most disadvantageous arrangement, especially when contrasted with the well-organised and thoroughly united legions of the Romans.

The troops were composed of infantry, cavalry, and those who fought from chariots. The infantry were by far the most numerous, but were armed only with light



Ancient British Target and Celts. (In the Meyrick Collection.)

targets, long pointless swords, dirks, spears, and sometimes bows and arrows. The cavalry carried broadswords, long spears, and large shields, and were mounted upon small but hardy and spirited horses. The footmen used to fight

amidst their ranks, holding by the horse's mane, a custom which was practised by the Highland clans so late as the last century.

2. The chariot warriors were, however, the most remarkable body, and were chiefly made up of persons of distinction, and of the flower of the youth. The war-chariot, which held a charioteer and one or more fighting men, was made very strong and light, and armed with sharp hooks and scythes on the axles, which tore up every thing before them. The horses were perfectly trained; and the drivers used to stop them at full speed, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their places with incredible dexterity. This part of the forces, indeed, was a constant terror even to the veteran troops of Rome.

The material and construction of their weapons, which were made of copper and tin, or even bones and flints, was very much against these bold warriors, who seem to have relied more upon their activity and address in rapid attacks than upon their weight and power in close combat.

3. The infantry was generally disposed in several lines, sloping in the form of a wedge, the sharp point towards the enemy. The cavalry and chariots were placed on the wings, and in the rear and flanks they fixed their waggons with the women and children. Their choice of ground was almost invariably judicious, and their charges were made with great impetuosity and dreadful cries. In fortification, as already mentioned, they were by no means deficient, though in this, as in other matters, they afterwards profited much by the example of their invaders.

4. The military spirit and power of the Britons were at length so thoroughly broken by the policy of the Romans, that at their departure they were wholly unable to defend themselves against the inroads of the rudest tribes, and fell an easy prey to the first determined and well-planned attack.

5. The Celtic tribes, unlike the Teutons, do not seem to have loved the sea; and their boats were but wretched coracles, made of osier twigs, covered with a hide, such as are still used in Wales and Ireland; or canoes hollowed out of a

single tree, of which several specimens have been dug up, one so perfect as to be used as a boat for some time afterwards.

Ancient British Canoe. (In the British Museum.)

The encouragement given by the Romans, however, induced the building of larger vessels, in which a considerable coasting trade was probably carried on. A powerful maritime force was maintained by the Romans for the defence of the Saxon shore; and about the end of the third century we meet with the first instance of an exclusively British navy under Carausius, which was extremely well manned, and contributed greatly to preserve his superiority over all the attacks that were made upon his kingdom.

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

1. Before the Roman invasion agriculture was chiefly carried on by the Belgic settlers on the sea-coast, who were not unacquainted with manures, especially marl, which they used with great effect. The limits of their fields were marked by large upright stones, numbers of which still remain, and are called hare or *boundary* stones. The corn was buried in caves, beaten out in small quantities with a stick, and ground by hand between two blocks of stone. The conquerors introduced an improved system, however, under which this island became one of the granaries of the empire, and afforded a large surplus of corn for exportation, which was annually carried away by a fleet of ships, and distributed amongst the legions at their different stations.* They also commenced gardening on a large scale, and even attempted to cultivate the vine with some success.

2. The Phœnicians, the great trading people of antiquity, are the first foreigners who are known to have opened a commercial intercourse with these islands.† The principal commodities purchased by these bold navigators were tin, lead, and skins, for which they gave in exchange earthenware, salt, and articles of bronze. The tin was found in the Scilly islands and in Cornwall, and was disposed of along the Mediterranean, and even in India, at a very high price. By

* Nor was the peculiar food of the Scotchman altogether unknown; for St. Jerome reproaches Celestius with his "great stomach distended with Scottish porridge," or hasty pudding.

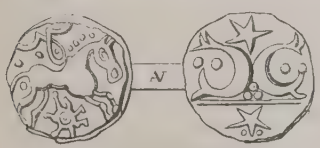
† It is impossible to fix any thing like the date at which this intercourse commenced. In the oldest recorded voyage, supposed to have been made about 1000 years before Christ, the traffic is spoken of as a custom long existing.

great care and management the Phœnicians contrived to conceal the seat of this profitable trade for several ages, till at length it was found out by the Greeks and Romans; which latter people seem to have visited Britain long before its supposed discovery by Cæsar. Thus it was extended to the whole of the southern coast, especially opposite France; and foreign merchants and ships were perpetually passing and repassing between the two countries.

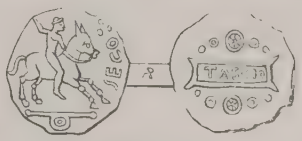
After the Roman invasion, the traffic became still more considerable, and penetrated more deeply into the interior. Tin, lead, iron, gold and silver, corn, cattle, hides and fleeces, cheese, horses and dogs (excellent both for hunting and bull-baiting), lime, chalk and marl, oysters, jet and pearls, (the latter of which were highly prized, and are said by Suetonius to have tempted Cæsar into the island,) baskets of osier work, and numerous *slaves*, were constantly exported to the capital of the empire.

The imports are not so well known, but consisted, no doubt, of various manufactured articles of use or luxury. The trade with the Continent was chiefly carried on from the mouths of the Rhine, Seine, Loire, and Garonne, and no doubt a good deal in British bottoms; whilst the principal ports on this side of the Channel were Southampton, Richborough in Kent, and London. Customs duties were levied on the exports and imports by the Roman governors, which were held in lieu of direct tribute, to which the high spirit of the Britons would never submit.

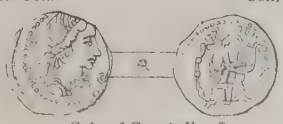
3. The first introduction of money into British commerce



Early British Coin.



Coin of Segonax.



Coin of Cunobeline.*

* The first of these coins is no doubt older than the Roman invasion

cannot be distinctly ascertained; but it seems tolerably certain that before the Roman invasion some parts at least of the island possessed a native coinage differing entirely from the Roman, and most probably copied from Grecian models, especially from those of Macedon, which might have been brought into the country by the foreign merchants who frequented our shores, and afterwards rudely imitated by native artists. These early coins are thick and dished, with ill-formed designs of horses, human heads with wreaths or curls of hair, or wheels, flowers, animals, &c. It is curious that Roman letters should sometimes be found on them, which would indicate that the Britons were acquainted with the learning of that people, in some degree, even before the known period of their arrival. This money is of gold, silver, and a base metal, more or less pure. It is possible, also, that metallic ornaments of various kinds may have been occasionally used for the purposes of exchange; and some small thick rings of a peculiar shape can hardly perhaps be assigned to any other use. Under the Roman rule the coins of the conquering race were naturally imitated, and a very great improvement was the consequence, the pieces being struck rather thin and quite flat, with regular heads, and well-executed ornaments and inscriptions. The money of Cunobeline, in particular, (who is said to have been brought up by Augustus, and afterwards reigned over a large portion of Britain,) are of elegant workmanship, and have been found in great numbers. The proper Roman coinage, however, soon superseded the British imitations; and Gildas says that, by an imperial edict, it alone at length was allowed to pass current. Immense quantities of this Roman money have been turned up from time to time in every part of the country.

the coin of Segonax was probably struck in Kent about the time of Cæsar's second landing; and that of Cunobeline during the reign of Augustus. The word TASCIO, or TASCIA, which is found on these coins, and is sometimes united with VA, VAN, VANI, VANIT, or NOVA, has occasioned much controversy, but has never yet been satisfactorily explained.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

1. THE manners of the early inhabitants of these islands were no doubt as rude as their condition. Their miserable huts contained but a few rough stools or blocks of wood, baskets, wooden bowls, and articles of coarse earthenware. The floor served for a bed, the mantle or a skin for bed-clothes, and the luxury of a chimney was unknown. Their diet was sufficiently simple, and contracted still farther by a strange abstinence from the flesh of hares and of poultry, and in the northern parts from fish. If we are, however, to believe some ancient writers, they made up for this restriction by the practice of the most revolting cannibalism. It is to be hoped that this accusation only arose from the frightful stories which the people of Gaul used to tell of their wild island neighbours. Their drinks were mead and ale, wine being little, if at all, known before the Roman invasion. They ate twice a day, the last being the great meal, squatted on hay or skins, with the meat placed before them on a stool or low table, the teeth and nails, with the occasional help of a wretched knife, being the only implements employed. Hospitality has been always a prominent virtue in the Celtic character, and strangers at parting generally exchanged arms with their host in token of regard.

2. In personal appearance the Britons were remarkable for strength and stature, particularly in the North, and their women were famous for the fairness of their hair and complexions. The Mæatæ and Caledonians are described by the Romans as living in a state of nudity, but this may have arisen from their being generally seen in battle, when all the tribes invariably threw off their clothing. Cæsar says that the inhabitants of the interior were dressed in skins, and

on the coast, at least, they were abundantly supplied with cloth of their own manufacture. The ordinary dress was a large plaid or mantle of a square form, wide enough to cover the whole trunk of the body. Trousers also, or braccæ* (breeches), were worn, chequered in various colours, but with

Gaulish Costume. Braccæ, tunic, and sagum. (From a statue in the Louvre.)

a predominating tint of red. The mantles of the Druids were entirely white, and probably made of linen cloth. Both sexes were ornamented with massy rings and chains of gold and silver, copper or iron, and especially with the Torch or Dorch, Latinised into *torquis*, which was apparently a mark of nobility or command. They were extremely proud of their hair, which they greased abundantly, and dyed with herbs. The men shaved all the face except the upper lip, where an immensely long mustache was allowed to grow. The celebrated tattooing of the skin originated, no doubt, in the same motives which have prompted many other barbarous nations to the same mode of decoration; thus among the

* Braccæ is formed from the Celtic word breac, *spotted* or *chequered*, their cloth being generally striped like the modern tartan. A favourite cake, in Ireland, is still called the Barn-breac, or *spotted cake*.

New Zealanders and the tribes of Africa the rank of the individual or the particular tribe to which he belongs is denoted by the figures with which the body is embossed. As clothing came to be more extensively worn it gradually disappeared, and was at length entirely banished by the full attire of civilisation.

3. A singular regulation with regard to matrimony is mentioned by Cæsar as existing in Britain at the time of his arrival. Ten or twelve families, it is said, used to live under the same roof, the husbands having their wives in common, and the different children assigned to the men to whom their mother had been first married. Yet conjugal virtue seems to have been highly respected, and the women were undoubtedly of great consequence in the management of all their affairs. Marriages were also solemnised with much pomp: all the relations on both sides within the third degree of kindred were invited, and rich presents made. The first morsel of food was put into an infant's mouth on the point of its father's sword, with a prayer that he might prove a brave warrior, and die on the field of battle. Youths were not allowed to keep company with their fathers, and received no regular education, till they had attained the manly age, between fifteen and eighteen.

4. The rites of burial were performed by the Britons with great affection and magnificence, and every thing in which the deceased had delighted, weapons of war and of the chase, ornaments of every kind, with favourite dogs and deer, were buried with the corpse, intended, no doubt, for his gratification or defence in the next world. The sepulchres or barrows are of different kinds, and exhibit great labour and ingenuity; some are of an oblong form and great size, probably designed for chieftains, and of the earliest date; next are the bowl-shaped, then the more elegant bell-shaped, and the finest of all are those intended for females, of an oval form, which have been improperly called by some the Druid barrows. The most ancient mode of arranging the body was, probably, to place it in a hollow, with the legs bent up towards the head; afterwards at full length: in some instances it was enclosed in a strong wooden coffin rivetted with

bronze, or an unbarked tree hollowed out in the centre. The bodies were frequently burnt also, especially amongst

British Barrows.
a. Long barrow. *b.* Druid barrow. *c.* Bell-shaped. *d.* Conical. *e.* Twin barrow.

the southern Britons, who may have learnt it from the Romans. The northern tribes simply laid the body in the earth, and raised a cairn of loose stones over it.

5. The influx of Roman inhabitants made an entire change in the customs and appearance of the Britons; warlike exercises and the severer toils of hunting, religious practices and superstitions of common life, dress, habits, and manners, all disappearing or changing their character under the influence of the new regime. Even in the time of Agricola the young chieftains had begun to abandon the braccæ, and to substitute the Roman tunic, and the hair of both sexes was cut and dressed after the Italian fashion. Their armour and weapons also were suited to the new improvements introduced amongst them. The tribes, however, north of Adrian's wall remained in their original state; and when Severus invaded Caledonia, in the beginning of the third century, a contemporary author describes the Mæatæ almost in the same terms as Cæsar had portrayed the Britons of the interior upon his first arrival.

BOOK II.

SAXON PERIOD. A.D. 449—1066.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. The warlike tribes of Germany whom the weakness of the Britons invited to settle on their shores, and from whom the bulk of the present English people and the most distinctive features of the English character are derived, were three in number — the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. They were all of the pure Teutonic or Gothic race; and all their kings claimed descent from Woden, the first great leader of their armies from the shores of the Caspian.* The name of Saxon, by which they were generally known, has been variously derived from the *seax*, or short sword with which they were commonly armed, and from Sakai-Suna, or descendants of the Sacæ, a Scythian tribe, who began to make their way

* This event is supposed by some to have occurred in the century before Christ, when Sigge, the son of Fridulph, and chief of the Asi, a Scythian tribe, being oppressed by Pompey at the close of the Mithridatic war, abandoned his country, and led his followers into the regions along the Baltic. There he soon subdued the weaker natives, and was at length exalted into Odin the God. It is probable, however, that more than one victorious conqueror or subtle priest may have assumed the name of Odin, and that in process of time their characters and achievements came to be attributed, as in the case of the Grecian Hercules, to a single hero. Others assert that Odin was merely a mythological personage, the god of war.

towards Europe so early as the age of Cyrus. The Jutes and Angles originally dwelt in the Cimbric Chersonesus (now the peninsula of Jutland) and parts of Schleswig and Holstein; the Saxons in the countries now called Westphalia, Friesland, Holland, and probably a part of Belgium. The Jutes were the first to land in Britain; and they invited the Angles to join them, who were soon followed by the Saxons, when the complete reduction of the country commenced. The details of their successive landings and occupation of territory in the different kingdoms belong, however, to ordinary history; and we shall only remark, that some late writers have questioned the truth of the common story of Hengist and Horsa, and reduced the whole affair to a simple piratical invasion, such as had already frequently occurred along the Saxon shore, only more permanent and important in its results. We may proceed then, at once, to consider the position in which, after nearly 200 years of fierce opposition, they succeeded in placing themselves upon the stage of their future greatness.

2. The seven great divisions of the island, under the Saxons, are well known by the name of the Heptarchy; a phrase, however, which is not very correctly applied to any one particular period.

(1.) The kingdom of Kent, or Cantwara-land, was founded by the *Jutes* about A. D. 455, and is still one of the most thoroughly Anglo-Saxon parts of the country: its capital was Canterbury.* (2.) The kingdom of Sussex (South Saxons) was founded by the *Saxons;* and its capital was Chichester. (3.) Another band of Saxons established the kingdom of Wessex (West Saxons), whose chief city was Winchester. (4.) The East Saxons gave name to the kingdom of Essex, in which the district of the Middle Saxons was comprised, and which probably had London for its capital. (5.) The kingdom of East Anglia contained the first bands of *Angles*, and comprised the principal eastern counties: its capital was Dunwich, now swallowed up in the sea. (6.) The northern

* The original British name of Kent was probably Cean-tir, *the head of the land*, the same as Cantire in Scotland.

counties were erected into the kingdom of Northumberland by the Angles, probably intermingled with Saxons and Jutes. It was still divided, however, into the old British states of Deira and Bernicia (Deyfyr and Bryneich), the first of which had York for its capital, the latter Bamborough. (7.) The centre of England was occupied by the kingdom of Mercia, (explained either as the March or *boundary* towards Wales, or Myrcna-ric, *the woodland kingdom*,) belonging to the Angles, which had Leicester or Tamworth for its chief city.

In this division the Angles had obviously the balance of power, and their name has been alone perpetuated in that of the country itself (Angle-land); which may be accounted for by the fact that, whilst the Saxons and Jutes sent forth mere bands of straggling adventurers, the Angles removed almost in a body to this island, leaving their homes on the Continent nearly desolate. In the latter years of this period England appears to have been divided into thirty-two shires, of which nine formed the kingdom of Wessex, eight that of Mercia, and fifteen the Danelagh, or district of the Danes. Northumberland and Cumberland hardly yet belonged to England Proper; nor was either Cornwall or Wales reckoned a part of it, being almost entirely inhabited by Britons.*

3. The Saxon form of government differed materially, after their settlement in Britain, from what it had been amidst their native woods. Their chiefs originally bore the title of Aldermen (Elders) or Heretogs, and possessed little power except in war. In a foreign country, however, they speedily acquired extensive domains, and assumed the title and station of kings, their claim to which was readily recognised by their followers.† The title, also, of Bretwalda, or Emperor (*wielder*) of Britain, was given from time to time to

* Even in the reign of King John, Herefordshire was commonly considered a part of Wales.

† The word cyning, or *king*, is variously derived from the Saxon konnen, *to be able*; cyn, *kindred* or *nation*, as being the representative of the community; and from the Celtic cean, *a head*. The Anglo-Saxon kings sometimes took the Byzantine title of Basileus.

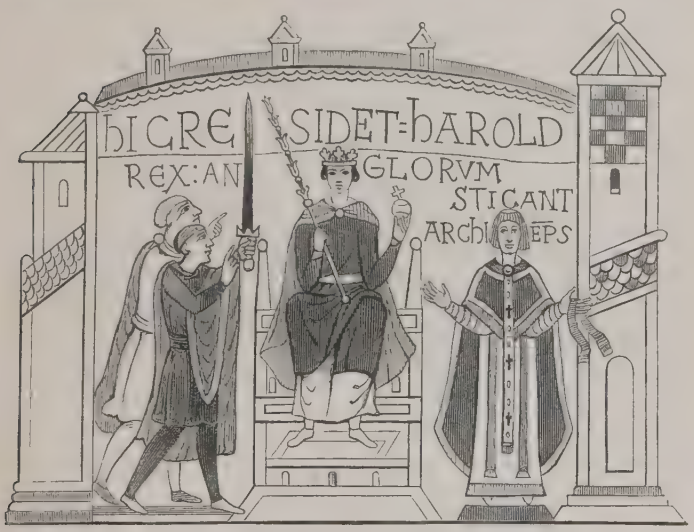
one or other of the kings, of whom Ella, the South Saxon (A. D. 510), was the first. The hereditary succession of the monarchy was observed with more or less strictness according to circumstances and the disposition of the people; the supreme authority being considered rather as belonging to the royal family in right of their descent from Woden, than as vested in any particular member of it. It would appear, also, that among the Anglo-Saxons, contrary to the practice of other Teutons, the crown might descend to a female; or, as they expressed it, "fall to the spindle side." The duties of a sovereign in those days consisted chiefly in administering justice (with the help of his council) in times of peace, and in commanding the armies of the state in time of war. Both offices might, however, be fulfilled by deputy. The power of the kings was by no means absolute at any period; and the government would seem, indeed, to have been more of an aristocracy than any thing else. Their revenues were, probably, considerable; and arose chiefly from private estates,

Great Seal of Edward the Confessor.

from the crown lands, from the annual payments of the towns, customs duties, tolls, and a share of all fines and spoils taken from the enemy, &c. With the invasions of the

Danes, and the necessity of buying them off from time to time, began the custom of taxing the people, with the consent, however, of the Witenagemot. A tax, first of one Saxon shilling, afterwards of two or more, was laid upon every hyde of land (100 to 120 acres) in the kingdom; which, as there were 243,600 hydes, (exclusive of houses in towns, which were also rated,) would amount to at least 12,180 Saxon pounds, or in value about 360,000*l.* sterling. This Danegelt (*Dane's money*) was first levied about A. D. 991, and continued till the reign of Edward the Confessor; but it seems, in course of time, to have been appropriated to the private purposes of the monarch.*

In the person of Egbert, king of Wessex, and eighth Bret-



Coronation of Harold. (Bayeux Tapestry.)

walda of England, the various sovereignties were at length imperfectly united, A. D. 827; but the different kings did not

* The only burdens to which landed property was regularly subjected were the three common labours, as they were called — Bryeg-bote, or tax for the maintenance of bridges and highways; burh-bote, for the repairs of walls and fortresses, and fyrd, or military service. Every five hydes of land was in time of war obliged to maintain one soldier.

cease to exist, nor to exercise a considerable independent authority. Athelstane (A. D. 937) was the first who assumed the title of "King of the English;" but in reality England can hardly be called one kingdom, ruled by one monarch, and possessing one supreme legislation, till after the Norman Conquest.

4. As the king was the highest magistrate, so the Witenagemot, or *Meeting of Wise Men*, was the highest court of justice; and out of it afterwards arose the present English parliament. During the Heptarchy there were, of course, as

The Witenagemote, the King presiding. (Cotton MS.)

many assemblies as kingdoms; and even after the union the powers of the General Council or Micelgemot (*Great Meeting*) over the distinct states were but ill defined and uncertain. In it sat, by unquestioned right, the bishops of the church in Christian times; the great officers of state; the earls or aldermen; thanes or great landholders; with such other counsellors and wise men as might be required. Some of these sat in right of their landed property; others, of their station and learning; and the three orders of the state would thus be made out as the Clergy, Nobles, and Landholders; the king being, as it were, the balance and centre

of them all. The qualification required for a thane was raised in time from five to forty hydes of land, at least in some counties.

The most disputed point about the Witenagemot is the character in which the folk, or *people* at large, appeared, who are repeatedly mentioned as being present at its meetings. It does not seem, however, that they were directly represented; but that the persons spoken of as attending on their part were the representatives, rather, of the magistrates of the burghs and townships, who might themselves, it is true, have been previously elected by the people.

The assembly was convened by the king; and was held at stated times, generally in the spring, and at the full or change of the moon, while the Saxons were pagans; and, after their conversion, at the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

The members enjoyed several privileges; and special laws were made for the security of their persons in going to or returning from the place of meeting, always excepting such as were notorious thieves!

5. The Anglo-Saxons, like the other Teutonic nations, were divided into various castes. Next to the king and queen was the heir presumptive, called the Ætheling or Most Noble, and the princes of the royal family, distinguished by the title of Illustrious. Then came the class of nobles or thane-born*, who were divided into Sithcundmen or Six-haendmen, who did not possess sufficient property to constitute a lordship, and were subject, in some degree, to the other class of Twelfhaendmen, or landed nobility.

The third caste, or Twihaendmen, was composed of the ceorls or villains, (*carles, churls, villani,*) who were tenants bound to the soil. They held a recognised estate in the land to which they belonged, and were not to be removed from it, nor have a higher rent than usual imposed; but they were

* Thane or thegn (synonymous with comes, *count*) signifies a *minister* or *honourable retainer*. Knight was not a term of honour till the Conquest, and the Saxon cnichts were mere humble followers or servants.

still part of the property, and might be given, bequeathed, or sold along with it. This condition arose out of the circumstances of the Saxon conquest. As each warrior conquered in a district, a number of captives and a proportionate grant of land was given to him, which he either parcelled out amongst his free retainers and kindred, who rendered him military service, and were afterwards called *vassals*, or amongst bondmen, probably the original cultivators of the soil, who paid their rents in produce, and were called *villains*, from the Latin villa, *a country seat*. This distinction between the first proprietor and his vassals gave rise to the division of estates into *allodial* and *feudal;* the former being those held without, the latter with, a lord superior. The feudal estates (beneficia, fiefs or feuds*) appear to have been at first held during the pleasure of the superior, then for a fixed time, afterwards for life, and finally to have become hereditary. It has been much disputed whether the feudal system existed in the Anglo-Saxon period; but it is too natural and obvious to a race of conquerors not to have been adopted at once, although it was not fully established, in all its regularity and extent, till after the Norman Conquest.

6. There was another division of land into bocland, or that portion of the conquered territory apportioned to individuals by a boc (*book*) or written instrument, and folcland, or the public property, *terra popularis*, afterwards called *terra regis*, or crown land.

7. Below the ceorls were the freedmen and the theowes or slaves, who were in exactly the same condition as the negro slaves in the West Indies. Some of them may have been the offspring of British serfs, but the greater portion were freemen who had forfeited their liberty by debt or crimes. A culprit who could not pay the penalty for his offence might be redeemed from his punishment within a year, but never

* Feud or fief is derived by some from an abbreviation of Emphyteusis, a word used by the Roman lawyers; by others, from fee odh, or *stipendiary property*. Allodial is uncertain in its derivation. Benefice is still retained in ecclesiastical matters.

afterwards. They were very numerous, and employed in different offices: if one of them were killed by his master, no fine, or but a small one, was required; if by a stranger, his price was paid to the owner. The canons of the church, however, and the example of the clergy, gradually softened the condition of these wretched beings, though they could not altogether obliterate it.

8. The territorial division of the country into counties (*comitatus*) or shires (*divisions*), hundreds, and tithings, goes back apparently to the first settlement of the Saxons. Over each of these presided a magistrate; over the county a count, earl, (Jarl, a Danish title,) or alderman, who held both the civil and military government, and often assumed all the state and dignity of a king. These were assisted by a deputy called the shire-reeve (*sheriff*) or vice-comes, who was himself aided by legal assessors. Over the hundred was set a hundreden or centenary, who was commonly a thane, and whose office was both honourable and lucrative. Last came the decanus or tithing man, who ruled the tithing or lowest division.* Each of these officers held a court in which justice was administered, and all the affairs of the district discussed. Here, too, the military assemblies were held, whence the courts were sometimes called Wapentakes. They were subordinate one to another, so that an appeal lay from the tithing court to the hundred, and from that to the shiregemot.

The principle of mutual responsibility was carried out to an extraordinary extent in these arrangements, the head of a family being answerable for the conduct of its members, and even of its guests, and the inhabitants of a tithing for that of their neighbours, which was called frank or *free* pledge. The

* In some counties there was another magistrate, between the earl and the hundreden, called the trithing man, or lathe-reeve, who presided over several hundreds. Trithing means the third part of a shire, which in Yorkshire has been corrupted into Riding. In Sussex they are called rapes, and in Kent lathes.

It should be added that a tithing was not necessarily confined to ten families, but was so called because that was the smallest number of which it could be composed.

clergy alone were exempt from this obligation, but they often formed voluntary associations (*sodalitia*) amongst themselves on the same excellent principle.

9. The larger Saxon towns were distinguished by the name of burghs, derived either from the barbarous Latin word burgus, *a fort* (πύργος), or from borh, a *pledge or bail*, from the mutual responsibility of the inhabitants. They were governed by a burgmot, or portmot (if they were seaports), and a reeve, like the country districts, and the burgesses held offices by the tenure of property.*

The origin of cities rested with the Romans; for the Britons had none, properly so called, and the Anglo-Saxons planted theirs in the first instance upon the sites of the Roman towns and stations. So rapidly did they spread, however, that, with very few exceptions, all our present towns, and even villages and hamlets, appear to have existed from the Saxon times. The division of the country into parishes has also descended, almost without alteration, from the 10th century at the very latest.†

10. The entire population of the country during this period cannot be exactly ascertained; but no doubt the most numerous class by far was that of the ceorls. Every layman, in fact, who was not a thane or a slave, was a ceorl. The clergy of all orders ranked with or even above the nobility; for while the oath of an earl was only equal in weight to that of six ceorls, that of a priest was equivalent to 120; of a deacon to 60; and of a simple monk to 30.

* The word *town*, however, or township (in Saxon tun, from tynan, *to enclose*), had not the same meaning as at the present day, but was nearly identical with what, after the Conquest, was called a manor. Thus the whole country was divided into townships as well as hundreds; and for certain purposes the former had a jurisdiction of their own. The presiding deputy of the lord of the manor was called the town-reeve, and, with four others, represented the township in the courts of the hundred and shire.

† The present number of parishes is about 10,700, and the villages perhaps about half as many more. This fact gives an extraordinary idea of the extent to which population and its attendant civilisation must have spread amongst the Anglo-Saxons.

The word of a bishop, too, like that of a king, was conclusive in itself, and needed no corroborative oath. A ceorl might, however, become a thane by crossing the sea three times at his own risk, or by owning five hydes of land, held by his family for three generations in a direct line.

11. The Anglo-Saxon laws were not all committed to writing, but only some principal ordinances: hence the distinction still existing between statute or written law and common law; which latter, although now indeed conveyed in books, was not originally founded upon any written act. All England was not governed by one code; but, even after the Norman conquest, the West Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws seem to have maintained a separate station, though we can hardly tell in what the difference consisted. Edgar the Peaceable and Edward the Confessor are said, however, to have exerted themselves for their assimilation. The earliest book of laws which we possess is that of King Ethelbert, of Kent, A.D. 561—616, which contains eighty-nine ordinances, chiefly against personal offences. A remarkable regard is shown in these laws for personal liberty; for they impose little or no corporal punishment, no imprisonment, and no capital punishment which may not be compounded for by a money payment. The chief and almost only infliction, indeed, is the wehrgeld, or fine which a delinquent was to pay to the injured party or his family; to which was added, in many cases, a certain sum to the king or magistrate, as compensation for the violation of the public peace.* If the wehrgeld were not paid, he might, nevertheless, be reduced to a state of slavery. This system of compensation is common to all rude societies, where the law alone cannot protect life or property, and yet wishes to avoid the constant recurrence of personal revenge for personal wrong. The next codes are those of Lothaire and Edric, and of Wihtræd, kings of Kent. Then follow those of Ina of Wessex; and after the Heptarchy, of Alfred, Edward the

* The wehrgeld for a king was 240 pounds, equal in value to 7200*l.* sterling, one-half of which was paid to the public as a compensation for the loss of their sovereign.

Elder, Athelstane, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, and Canute. The Latin laws of Edward the Confessor have been rejected by antiquaries as spurious. The enactments of Edgar are the most numerous, amounting to 163, and next are those of Canute, whilst the laws of Alfred only number 66. The great merit of this celebrated prince, indeed, seems rather to have lain in his strict and impartial administration of justice than in any extraordinary additions or improvements upon the laws.

12. Judges do not appear to have been appointed expressly for the trial of causes till at least the time of Alfred. Trials took place in the public motes or assemblies, and sentence was passed by the ordinary president. The mode of giving evidence was by compurgation; that is, by a certain number of persons swearing to the innocence of the accused, who was acquitted if their oaths were deemed sufficient, which was determined by their station or "worth." If he could not procure such testimony, he might sometimes appeal to "the judgment of God" by ordeal. This was effected by plunging the arm into boiling water, or carrying a redhot iron in the naked hand for nine paces. Other ordeals were held by drawing from under a cover one of two pieces of wood; if the piece came out which had the cross cut upon it, he was acquitted, if the other, condemned: or by the corsned, a small piece of bread, which was believed to stick in the throat of a guilty man. Wager of battle, in which the two parties fought out their quarrel in presence of the court, was another mode, which, although generally supposed to have been introduced by the Normans, was probably in use before the Conquest.* The choice, however, of these various forms of trial was only allowed when the lord or superior of the accused had previously borne testimony in his favour. Civil suits were decided

* It is remarkable that the trial by wager of battle was not abolished till the year 1818, when a person named Abraham Thornton, who had been tried for a rape and murder in the parish of Sutton Coldfield, and acquitted, was indicted under its provisions a second time. The nearest of kin being however unwilling to enter the lists, the accused person escaped. The solicitor employed for the defence was Mr. Edward Sadler of Sutton Coldfield.

upon precisely the same principle, though with some difference in the forms. It is thus evident that a jury, in the modern sense, could have had no place in an ancient trial; for the finding of the verdict was not a matter of nice deliberation upon the facts, but must have been obvious to every one the moment the oaths were taken or the ordeal gone through. Trial by jury, indeed, could only come in as the ordeal, which was an appeal to the Deity, and the compurgation, which was an appeal to one's neighbours, (the two kinds of beings who were supposed to be best acquainted with the character of the accused as well as the circumstances of the case,) went out; and its introduction is, therefore, to be referred, not to the Saxon, but properly to the Norman times.

13. That the old principle of direct decision might be fully carried out, not only was a certain value put by law on every individual, which determined the amount at which his testimony as a witness was to be rated, and the damage he could claim as plaintiff, or must pay as defendant, but every limb and part of the body had its distinct wehr or legal worth. Thus, in the oldest laws, a leg was valued at 50*s.*; the little finger at 11*s.*; the great toe at 10*s.*; and so on in proportion.

14. There were some "boteless" crimes, however, in later times, for which no compensation would be taken, but were always capital; as treason, military desertion, open theft, housebreaking, and premeditated murder. The common capital punishment seems to have been hanging, or sometimes stoning: other punishments were imprisonment, outlawry, banishment, whipping, branding, the pillory, amputation of the limbs, mutilation of the nose, ears, and lips, plucking out the eyes, and tearing off the hair. Summary punishment might also be inflicted by any one on a criminal caught in open fault, as a thief found "hand-habend" or "back-bearand," or a murderer standing by the corpse with the bloody weapon in his hand.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION.

1. The arrival of the Saxons in Britain was for a time almost fatal to the Christian religion, for those fierce idolaters made war no less upon the faith than upon the possessions of the natives, and destroyed the churches and the priesthood as widely as their arms could reach. The labouring population, indeed, who were probably permitted to remain on the soil as bondmen, may have been allowed to retain their religion in peace, so far as it could be supported without ordinances or a clergy.

2. The heathenism of the invading tribes was, most likely, of the same character as that of the Scandinavians, which has been preserved in the two books called the Edda, compiled in the 11th and 12th centuries from such sacred poems of the ancient Scalds as then survived, and in the Voluspa or Prophecy of Vola, of the same date. The tone of this system was wild and ferocious, and its great head and centre the famous Woden or Odin — "the father of slaughter, the god that names the slain, and carries with him desolation and fire." This fearful deity was accompanied by a number of followers, or rather children, eleven gods and as many goddesses, some of whose names, along with those of the Sun and Moon, have been perpetuated in the days of the Christian week, as those of the Romans are in the months of the year. There were also three Fates, and a crowd of inferior genii; in opposition to whom stood the evil spirits Lok and Hela, who were attended by the serpent Midgard, the wolf Fenris, the Giants, and a dark crowd of malignant demons. On the subject of a future state this religion was particularly explicit. The brave ascended to Walhalla, where they spent the days in

fight, and the nights in feasting on the everlasting boar, and drinking mead out of the skulls of their enemies. The slothful and cowardly sank into Niflheim, the abode of Evil, whose palace was Anguish, her table Famine, the waiters Expectation and Delay, the threshold Precipice, her bed Leanness, and her glances Terror. At the end of a certain period, however, this temporary system was all to pass away in one universal conflagration, and a new world to arise, ruled by a greater and nobler god than Odin, and with new standards of vice and virtue. The juncture of these two distinct creeds is very curious, and it has been supposed that the latter was the primitive religion of the European tribes, before they were subdued by the more savage Scythians.

3. The rites of Scandinavian worship were in keeping with the spirit of the religion. Vast rugged temples, with gigantic images armed with terrible weapons, wild hymns, and horrid human sacrifices, even of children by their own parents, displayed the rude and gloomy temper of the northern barbarians. Women were viewed as the chosen receptacles of divine inspiration, and dreaded either as priestesses of the gods, or witches endued with fatal power from hell. The position of the priests is not so well ascertained, but they probably possessed the same influence as in other uncivilised countries. The most peaceful form of this sanguinary superstition was, apparently, held by the Anglo-Saxons; whose habits were soon softened by their residence in the tranquil plains and milder climate of England, and who were thus not wholly unprepared for the reception of Christianity.

4. The celebrated event which gave the greatest, though perhaps not the earliest, impulse to the preaching of the Gospel amongst the heathen conquerors of Britain, was the sight of some young Saxon slaves by Gregory, surnamed the Great, in the marketplace of Rome. Deeply interested in their fate, he would have himself set out as a missionary to their country but for the persuasions of his friends; and one of his first acts, after succeeding to the bishopric of Rome, was to send Augustin, Prior of the convent of St. Andrew's, with forty monks, upon the holy errand. On their journey they were so dismayed

at the accounts of Anglo-Saxon ferocity that they begged permission to return, which Gregory would by no means grant; and thus obliged to proceed, in the year of our Lord 596-7 they landed in safety in the isle of Thanet. Fortunately the king of Kent, Ethelbert, who was also Bretwalda of the empire, had married a Christian princess, Bertha, daughter of the king of France, and a Gallican bishop, named Liudhard, had already been in the habit of performing divine service in the neighbourhood of Canterbury. The king received them with caution but with kindness, and in a short time himself and 10,000 of his subjects were baptized in a single day. Upon receipt of these joyful tidings, Gregory conferred the primacy of the island and the pall* upon Augustin, who was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Arles in France; and thus received his orders in a direct line, as it is said, from Trophimus, the companion of St. Paul and founder of the Arelatensian see. The most important point which now presented itself was the abolition of the heathen festivals and ceremonies, which it was feared might provoke a relapse into idolatry. By the advice of Gregory the pagan temples were not destroyed, but consecrated as Christian churches; and the festivals were suffered to remain, only devoted to the honour of the saints, whilst sacred joy assumed the place of a riotous worship.

5. The ancient British clergy, who still survived in Wales, did not altogether approve of the arrogant demands which the new metropolitan made in right of his Roman commission; and in a conference held at Augustin's Oak, on the borders of Hereford, they positively refused to comply with his requisition, that they should conform to the Roman manner of baptizing and of keeping Easter, acknowledge the authority of the pope, and join himself in preaching to the Saxons.† So incensed was he at this that he invoked

* The pall is a woollen vestment worn on the shoulders of an archbishop, originally sent as a mark of brotherhood, but afterwards of obedience to the see of Rome. It was often sold for vast sums. Its form is preserved in the arms of the archbishops.

† Their protest, conveyed by Dinoth, Abbot of Bangor, is said to have

against them the wrath of Heaven and the vengeance of the English, the latter of which, at least, was not slack to follow the prophecy.

6. The zealous exertions of the missionaries were not, however, without their effect. The kings of Essex and East Anglia were converted before the death of Augustin (A. D. 604), and three sees, Canterbury, London, and Rochester, were founded, to which one for each kingdom was speedily added. The first Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury was Bertwald, who was consecrated A. D. 690. Through the medium partly of the strangers and partly of British, Irish, and Gallican preachers, the whole of England was gradually converted, though not without many fierce attacks from those who longer remained pagans, and several relapses of those who had professed Christianity. The last State brought under the influence of the Gospel was Sussex, which was converted by Wilfred, Bishop of York, A. D. 681. Thus, in somewhat more than 200 years from their arrival in the island, and less than a century from the coming of Augustin, the Anglo-Saxons were freed from their heathen superstitions, and the foundations of the Church of England happily laid.

7. The disputes with the British churches still continued, however, and a new one was added about the clerical tonsure *, but they were at length ended by the zeal and prudence of Theodore of Tarsus, who was consecrated Arch-

run as follows; — "Be it known and without doubt to you, that we all are and every one of us obedient and subject to the Church of God and to the Pope of Rome, and to every true and pious Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know due to him whom you name to be pope and father of fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded; and *this* obedience we are ready to give and to pay to him and to every Christian continually. Besides we are under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon-upon-Uske, who is to oversee under God over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual."

* The Romish ecclesiastics wore their hair round the temples in imitation of the crown of thorns, whilst the Britons, after the Eastern fashion, shaved it off the forehead into the form of a crescent, on account of which they were said to bear the mark of Simon Magus.

bishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian, A. D. 668. At a council called at Hertford, A. D. 673, this active prelate succeeded in obtaining a full assent to the canons which he had brought from Rome, and a complete agreement in matters of faith and worship. The monarchs did not, however, much regard the pleasure of the Romish bishop; for Wilfrid, of York, having dared to appeal to his authority, was committed to prison by King Egfrid, for his audacity; and the next king, Aldfrid, seconded by his bishops, again refused to listen to the interposition of the pope.

The exertions of Theodore were in many respects highly beneficial to the English Church. Large bishoprics were divided into more manageable sees; landholders were encouraged to build parish churches by being declared the patrons; the churches themselves, heretofore mostly of timber, began to be built of stone; the cathedral chanting was introduced into them generally; and a regular provision was made for the clergy by the imposition of a kirk-scot of one Saxon penny upon every house that was worth thirty pence of yearly rent.

8. The age of the Church which succeeded its establishment in England was marked by profuse donations from the wealthy, if not by the general payment of regular tithes*; the consequent increase of pomp and magnificence in the celebration of religious rites, and the frequent foundation of monasteries in all directions.

Vows of celibacy and poverty were not at first required in these monasteries, and they were soon crowded with persons of all ranks and characters, not always, perhaps, to the honour of religion or the edification of the people. A great veneration for relics and pilgrimages, especially to Rome, also made its appearance; and two kings, to whom is owed the foundation of the English college at Rome, ended their days

* It is commonly believed that tithes were first paid by the Mercians, in the latter part of the 8th century, at the command of King Offa, and that the tax was extended over all England by King Ethelwulf in 855, at a council of the whole clergy and nobility. The subject is, however, involved in great obscurity.

as monks within its walls.* In 747, a provincial synod was held at Cliffe, or Cloveshoe, near Rochester, at which no less than thirty canons were passed for the reformation of the clergy, and the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. Many of these directions are exceedingly wise and judicious, especially with regard to ordination and the practice of study in monasteries; but they are chiefly remarkable as cautiously avoiding any mention of submission to the see of Rome. This silence did not, however, prevent appeals being made to the pope, and sometimes with success. Two legates were also sent by him into England towards the close of the 8th century, whose decrees seem to have been received without hesitation.

9. Now also the great contest about the use of images in churches, and the respect which should be paid to them, extended to England, where the canons of the second council of Nice (A.D. 787), which sanctioned their use and virtual adoration, were condemned by the bishops, and the learned Alcuin was employed to write directly against them.

10. A new misfortune befel the Church in the beginning of the 9th century, through the incursions of the pagan Danes, who once more plundered and destroyed the sacred edifices, and slew or sold as slaves great numbers of the clergy. The effects of these devastations were such that King Alfred complained that on his accession to the throne he could find very few priests north of the Humber who were able to translate the Latin service into the vulgar tongue, and south of the Thames not one. A check was, however, put to their ravages by the victories of that great monarch; and a number of the Danes, with their prince, Guthrum, agreed to embrace the Christian religion. Scarcely, however, had the Church begun to recover her former position, and to repair her losses, when intestine divisions arose, and the

* Ina of Wessex founded a house at Rome for the reception of English pilgrims and education of English youth, to which Offa of Mercia afterwards appropriated the annual sum of one penny from every house in his dominions, called "smoke-silver," and "Peter-pence," because paid on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula.

famous Dunstan embroiled the clergy by his efforts at a new reformation. Himself an unmarried Benedictine monk, he sought to enforce the celibacy of the priesthood, and to increase the powers and privileges of the monasteries. In these attempts he was vigorously resisted, but without success. The cause of Dunstan was henceforth completely in the ascendant; and so many persons devoted themselves to the cloisters that at length more than one-third of the lands of England were in possession of the Church, and consequently exempted from all taxes, and generally from military service.

11. Towards the close of the 10th century the Danes renewed their terrible assaults, which terminated at length in the elevation of Canute to the throne. This king soon became a zealous Christian, and prohibited all practice of heathenism in the strictest manner. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey was rebuilt, and endowed with great riches and privileges. It was first founded by Sebert of Essex, A. D. 604, by whom also a church was built on the site of the present St. Paul's, and Mellitus appointed the first bishop of London.

12. The penitential discipline of those days was ostensibly very rigorous. Offenders denounced by the Church were required to abstain from flesh-meat and every ordinary comfort; but a convenient loophole was sometimes found in the persons of other people, who might be hired to perform part of the penance, and in the remission of punishment upon the payment of certain fines. In the canons of Aelfric, who was archbishop of Canterbury from 995 to 1005, we find several curious particulars — as that there should be seven orders of clergy, of which six were inferior; the seventh, or presbyter, being ranked with the higher class of bishops, except, of course, in the matter of ordination. The books laid down as necessary for a priest were the Psalter, Epistle and Gospel books, Missal or Prayer Book, Hymn Book, Manual, Calendar, Passional, Penitential, and Lectionary.* They

* The principal Prayer Books were at last united in the Ritual of Sarum, compiled by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, about A.D. 1080, and founded

were to explain the Gospel *in English* to the people on Sundays and holydays, and to teach them the Creed and Paternoster in the same language. They were forbidden also to take money for performing any part of their duty. Oil was to be used in baptism and in anointing the sick; but no sick man to be anointed unless he desired it. The reservation of the bread consecrated at Easter is forbidden; and water ordered to be mixed with the sacramental wine. Aelfric also translated eighty homilies into Saxon for the use of the people, from which we learn that the English Church understood and explained the important doctrine of the Lord's Supper exactly as she does at the present day.

Of the Scottish Church during this period much is not known; but its ministers (called Culdees) would appear to have differed widely both from the English Church and from Rome, and were forbidden, in the year 816, to exercise any sacred functions in England.

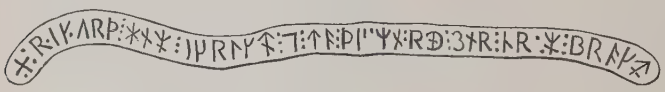
upon the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great. There were also the "Uses" of York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln, which were not united into one common form till the time of the Reformation.

The words mass and missal are derived from the ancient practice of announcing to the catechumens that the communion service was about to begin and that they must retire — "Ite, missa est," i.e. ecclesia.

CHAPTER III.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

1. From the rude Teutonic tribes, intent only upon war and conquest, no advances in literature could have been expected; and, in fact, there is no proof of their having given any attention to study till after the period of their conversion. What was the exact form even of their language when they first entered Britain, it is impossible to discover — we only know that the dialects of the three tribes were branches of the ancient Gothic, and may conjecture that the Anglo-Saxon language was afterwards formed by their intermixture. They are supposed, however, like other Gothic nations, to have made use of certain mysterious characters called Runes, a



Runic Characters. (From the font at Bridekirk, Cumberland.)

word which of itself means *secrecy*. These letters, which (though apparently only variations of the Gothicised Greek or Roman alphabet) it is difficult to read with any thing like correctness, were supposed to possess the strangest magical powers, to stop a vessel in her course, an arrow in its flight, excite love or hatred, and even raise the corpse from the grave. They were retained by the Continental Danes and the Icelanders so late as the beginning of the 14th century; but in England they were soon discouraged by the Christian missionaries, who introduced the ordinary Latin characters instead. Very good specimens of the Runes may be found on a pillar at Bewcastle, and a font in the church of Bridekirk, both in Cumberland.

2. The mode of writing Latin, however, in the sixth century differed somewhat from that of the Roman empire, a difference which is still retained in the printing of Gaelic, and (with some slight variations) in the common typographical

ANGLO-SAXON ALPHABET.*

A	a	*a*	N	n	*n*
B	b	*b*	O	o	*o*
C	c	*c*	P	p	*p*
D	ð	*d*	R	r	*r*
E	e	*e*	S	ſ	*s*
F	f	*f*	T	t	*t*
G	ȝ	*g*	Đ þ	ð þ	*th*
H	h	*h*	U	u	*u*
I	ı	*i*	W	p	*w*
K	k	*k*	X	x	*x*
L	l	*l*	Y	ẏ	*y*
M	m	*m*	Z	z	*z*

Common Abbreviations: ⁊, *and*; ł, *or*; þ, *that*; ð, *bishop*; k', *king*; ȝ, *year*; cƿ, *quoth*; kł, *kalends*.

The Anglo-Saxon language, which displays much perspicuity, strength, and harmony, appears to have passed through three successive stages, according to the influx of strangers, speaking different dialects of the same great mother tongue. The first, or British Saxon, was spoken till the invasion of the Danes; the Dano-Saxon prevailed till the Conquest, when the Norman-Saxon, which was, in fact, a transition to English, took its place, until about the time of Henry II. it became the language which, after some further changes, continues to be spoken to the present day.

3. During the 6th century learning was confined to the Britons and Irish, of whom the latter in particular excelled the scholars of every part of the Continent. For a long time it was the custom, says Bede, for the English of all ranks to retire to Ireland for study and devotion, where they were hospitably received, and supplied gratuitously with food, books, and instruction. Of the eminent men of this century, Gildas the historian and St. Columbanus are best known by their extant writings.† The spirit of Christianity, however, soon

* Three of these letters are, however, peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon. The sign of *th* was unknown to the Romans, and an ancient rune was retained for the purpose, Ð or Đ, or a line drawn through the head of the ð. Another rune was employed to denote the sound of *w*, ƿ.

† The British language, or some form of it, was not only spoken throughout this period in different parts of the country, but continued in Cumber-

stimulated the Saxons to literary exertion, and schools were speedily founded, from which, before the close of the 7th century, learned Englishmen began to proceed. The first who wrote in Latin was Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborn, who was educated by Mailduff, an Irishman, and died in 709. A famous poet also appeared at this time, named Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who died about 680*; of whose writings several pieces have been preserved. As a specimen, we may give part of his first poem, on the Origin of Things: —

Nu pe ſceolan hepian	Now we shall praise
Þeoſen-picef peapð	The guardian of heaven's kingdom,
Metodef mihte	The Creator's might
⁊ hiſ mod-ȝeðonc	And his mind's thought.
Wepa pulðep-fœðep	Glorious Father of Men!
Ꝺpa he punðpa ȝehpæf	As of every wonder He
Ece ðpihten	Lord Eternal
Oorð onſtealde.	Formed the beginning.†

A copy of the Lord's Prayer, written by Eadfrith, Bishop

land and the south of Scotland till the 13th century, and generally in Cornwall till the reign of Henry VIII. The last person who could speak Cornish was Dolly Pentrath, an old fish-wife near Penzance, towards the middle of the reign of George III. There seems, however, no great reason to suppose that Welsh will, for a long time at least, yield to its more powerful neighbour.

* Palgrave doubts, however, whether Cædmon be a real Anglo-Saxon name of an individual, as it has no proper meaning in that language, or a mere designation taken from the initial word of Genesis in the Chaldaic Targum of Onkelos, b'Cadmin (in Hebrew, b'Reschith) *in the beginning*. Cadmon also is a famous cabalistic word signifying originally Eastern, and he accordingly supposes that this name may have been assumed by some Anglo-Saxon monk or layman, who had resided in the East and acquired a knowledge of Chaldee and the Cabala. The style of many of his episodes, he adds, is highly Oriental.

† Anglo-Saxon poetry (of which the principal remains are Cædmon's Paraphrases of Scripture, the poem of Beowulf, and some shorter pieces) was very simple in its construction, having neither rhymes like English, nor regular feet like the Latin, but depending chiefly upon an *alliteration* or recurrence of initial letters, and a kind of loose rhythm determined mostly by the ear. At a late period, and in a few instances, there is an approach to rhyme. A poet was called scop or sceop, from sceoppen, *to shape* or *make*; as the Danes called him scald, from scaldre, *to polish*.

of Lindisfarne, about the year 700, will also be interesting, and perhaps a little more intelligible: —

"Fabep upen ðu apð in heofnum fie ȝehalȝuð noma ðin; to cýmeð fic ðin; fie fillo ðin fuælf in heofne ⁊ in eopðo; hlaf ufenne ofep pirtlic fel uf tobæȝ; ⁊ fopȝef uf fcýlba ufna fuæ uæ fopȝefon fcýlbȝum ufum; anð ne inlæð uſih in coftunȝe uh ȝeffiȝ uſih fiom ýfle.

4. Great service was rendered to the cause of letters by Archbishop Theodore, who brought from Rome a valuable collection of Greek and Latin books, and several professors of the sciences, to assist in education.* The 8th and 9th centuries produced many distinguished men, amongst whom may be particularly mentioned Venerable Bede, whose entire works amount to eight volumes folio; Boniface, afterwards Archbishop of Mentz, and the famous Irishman Alcuin, the tutor of Charlemagne; Virgilius, Bishop of Saltzburg, and the noble Joannes Erigena; with Egbert, Archbishop of York, Tobias, Bishop of Rochester, and the great King Alfred himself, with his learned friend and biographer, Asser.

5. The mass of the people, however, continued very ignorant; and, indeed, from the simple manners of the age, had little occasion for learning; whilst books were generally scarce and high priced. Much also was conveyed in poetry, orally repeated, which would now-a-days be consigned to writing. In fine, the wasting inroads of the Danes destroyed for a time both the taste for learning and the means of acquiring it, by the ruin of the monastic schools and the total dispersion of the scholars.

6. The great restorer of learning after those dreadful days was Alfred, himself a monarch distinguished in every noble attainment. His own love for knowledge was excited at twelve years of age, when his mother showed him a volume of poetry beautifully illuminated, and promised it as a gift on the con-

* The circle of knowledge then commonly taught comprised the seven liberal arts, viz. grammar, rhetoric, and logic, which were called the *trivium*; and music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, which constituted the *quadrivium*.

dition of his acquiring the alphabet. When fully settled on his throne he took the greatest pains to find out learned men in all countries, whom he invited to his court, and treated with the utmost respect. He re-founded the old schools, and established new ones, and is said to have either founded or restored the University of Oxford.* He endowed these seminaries with one eighth of his whole revenues, and compelled all owners of two hydes of land and upwards to send their sons to school, setting the example in his own children. He exerted himself also to procure the translation of useful books into Anglo-Saxon, and added several with his own hand. Translations of the Bible were not unfrequent in those days; and the study of the Scriptures was earnestly and constantly recommended to both clergy and laity, as the groundwork of their common faith. To sacred studies, indeed, profane literature was constantly obliged to give way, and classic authors were treated as something sinful, which might only be read by special permission.†

7. After the death of Alfred the Danes renewed their ravages; and learning, in consequence, declined considerably. It is reported, however, that the University of Cambridge was founded by his son, Edward the Elder; but on no very certain authority. A new source of science now began to open in the East, where the Arabians were zealously cultivating literature and the arts. Their discoveries were communicated to Europe by the famous Pope Gerbert, who had studied amongst the Saracens at Cordova; and our ancestors may possibly have participated in the benefit at an earlier period than is generally believed.

8. Canute the Dane, himself distinguished for his poetic

* University College is said to have been founded by him, and the crypt under St. Peter's church bears the name of his friend and tutor Grimbald. The first express mention of this university occurs in Ingulfus, who wrote immediately after the Conquest, and who says that he studied first at Westminster and then at Oxford.

† When a monk wanted to read a Greek or Roman classic, he scratched his ear like a dog, to show his itching for those heathen *dogs*. Alcuin was particularly severe on Virgil, having been sadly frightened when a boy by some pretended demons who threatened to "cut his corns" if he preferred that poet to the Psalms of David.

powers, did much to repair the injuries committed by his countrymen; and in the reign of Edward the Confessor the schools appear, in some places at least, to have flourished. The unsettled state of the country, however, prevented any general advance in learning. The most eminent writer of the time was Aelfric of Canterbury; and we have also a very valuable work called the "Saxon Chronicle," written, as it is supposed, by a series of hands, commencing soon after the time of Alfred, and continuing till the year 1154.

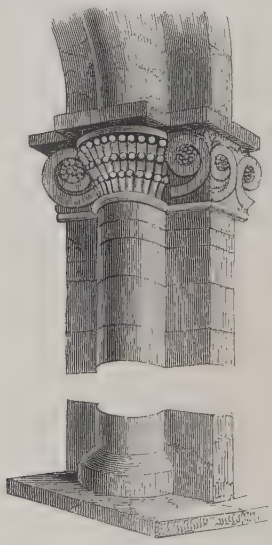
Upon the whole, the literature of the Anglo-Saxon period is chiefly valuable in an historical point of view, and as displaying the foundations of our national tongue, its principal compositions being written in Latin, or mere translations from Latin authors. It cannot, however, be too strongly recommended to the attentive student of English history.

9. In entering upon the history of the arts practised by our forefathers, architecture, and especially church architecture, claims the first place. That the Saxons erected temples of some kind for their Pagan worship there can be no doubt; but of their form or material nothing is known with certainty. On their conversion to Christianity, they immediately began to build churches, at first, in all probability, of timber, and in process of time of stone. To Wilfrid of York and Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth in the 7th century, the introduction of an improved style of architecture is due; and under their direction several churches and monasteries were built with unusual splendour.

The models from which these and all subsequent churches were copied were obviously the Roman edifices remaining either in England or on the Continent, from whence the first artificers were brought.* The Romans, in turn, had borrowed their best architecture from the Greeks, but with considerable modifications, which at length changed its character very materially: in particular the introduction of the *arch*, which was not used by the Greeks, clashed with the columns, which were still retained, but no longer required as

* Even the corbel head and zigzag ornament of the 12th century may be found on the consoles of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro.

supports; and, with other mixtures and corruptions, gradually produced the style which has been called Romanesque, and which finally prevailed throughout the empire.



Foliated Capitals (Romanesque Saxon) — Sompting Church, Sussex.

Another important circumstance was the frequent conversion of the basilicas or halls of justice into Christian churches, a purpose for which the old Pagan temples were unfitted by their size and shape. This afterwards materially

Plan of the Sessorian Basilica, afterwards the Church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem.

affected the form of churches, as we shall have occasion to point out. From this original Roman source, then, the whole race of conquering Goths drew their notions of building, without attempting, for a long time, any serious innovations of their own.

10. Of the early Anglo-Saxon churches previous to the Danish invasion there are scarcely any traces remaining, and of the older British fabrics still less.* Perhaps Brixworth in Northamptonshire may be attributed to the latter part of the 7th century, and parts of the church within the walls of Dover Castle. These early structures appear to have been built, like the Roman basilicas, with a nave (with or without aisles) and a chancel. No mention is made of transepts or large towers at this period. In the 10th century, however, an evident change of style made its appearance on the Con-

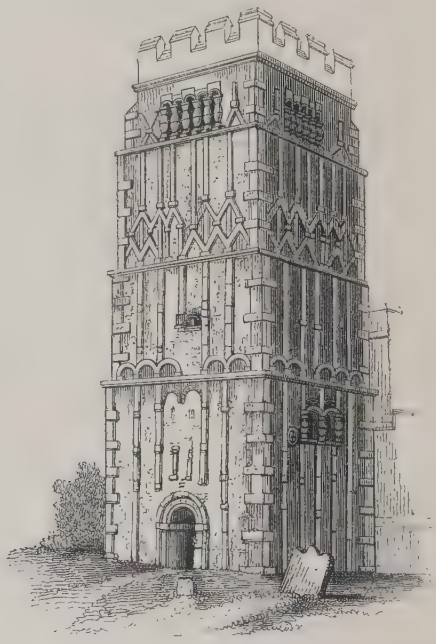
Anglo-Saxon Crypt — Repton Church, Derbyshire.

tinent, which may be traced, perhaps, to the influence of the Byzantine school. Of this new style the cruciform plan was an important feature, and altogether it approaches that which will presently be described as the Norman. Towards the close of the century some indications of it may be found in England, at least so far as transepts and a great tower.

The general character of Anglo-Saxon architecture, even

* The few remaining fragments of British oratories in Cornwall have been more frequently visited and described since the discovery of St. Piran's Chapel (Perranzabuloe) in 1835. They are, however, so rude and insignificant, as to interest chiefly from their extreme antiquity.

when verging to the Norman, was extremely plain and massive, with very thick walls, short clumsy pillars, and plain round arches. The doorways were semicircular or triangular at top, the windows small and round headed, with deep double splays, and very little ornamented. The great peculiarity on the outside was the disposition of long and short blocks alternately at the angles of a building, and the narrow strips of stone which run vertically or horizontally up the face of



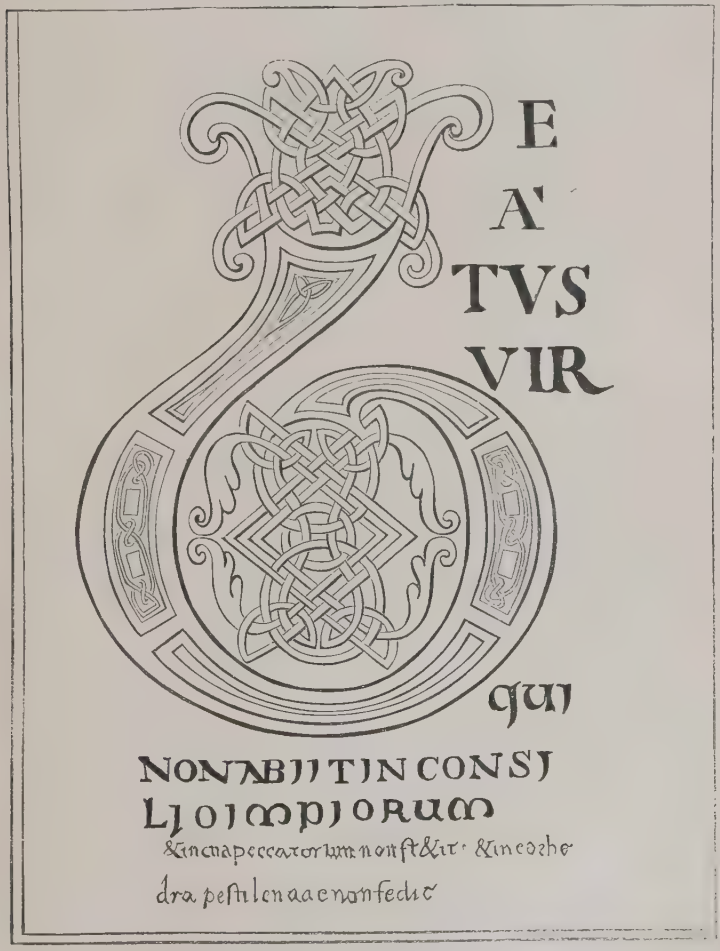
Anglo-Saxon Architecture—Earl's Barton Church, Northamptonshire.

the walls. Bell towers were probably not more than a century older than the Conquest, for bells themselves are reckoned among "strange and wonderful things" at that period.

11. Of the domestic architecture of the Saxons we have but little knowledge. Houses as well as churches were at first built of timber, and even in the time of Alfred the Great stone buildings were very rare.* Glass windows had, indeed, been introduced before his time, but the difficulty which he

* The very word tymbrian means *to build.*

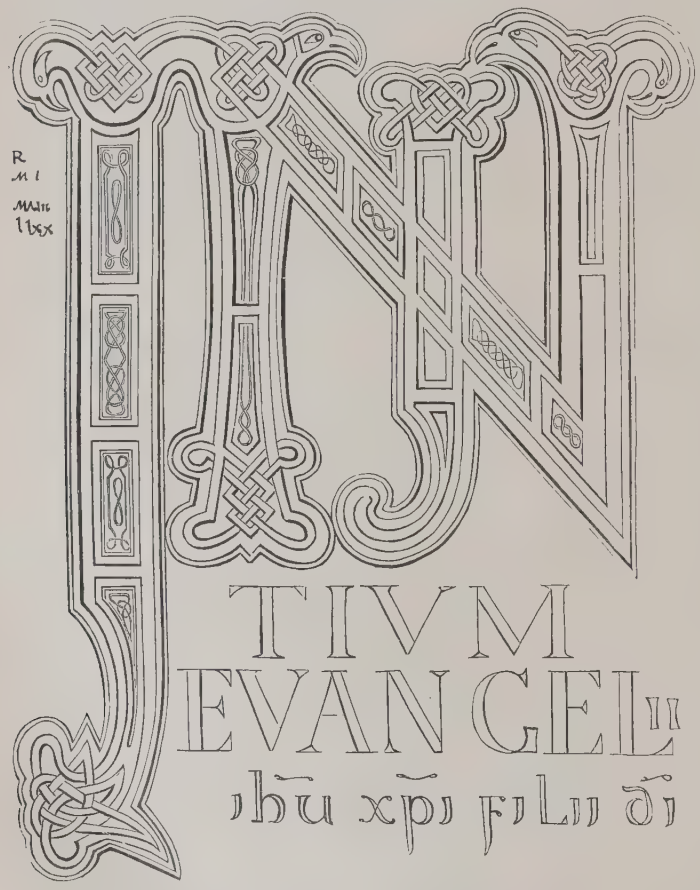
found in managing the light of his great candle shows that they were not in very general use. As contrasted with the Norman houses after the Conquest they appeared low and mean, and were probably built without much care or elegance. Their fortresses must have been of considerable strength, from the resistance which some of them made to William's army; but of them also we know little or nothing.



Illumination — Psalter of King Athelstan.

12. The art of sculpture most probably accompanied the

introduction of the Roman architecture, and flourished or decayed from the same causes. Of its excellence or defects, however, no monuments of any consequence remain. Painting, at least so far as the illumination of MSS., was carried to great perfection in Ireland as early as the 6th century, and amongst the Anglo-Saxons from the 8th to the 11th centuries, as many existing works combine to show. Its chief



Illumination — Coronation Oath Book of the Saxon Kings.

features were extreme intricacy of pattern, and interlacings of knots in a diagonal or square form, sometimes interwoven

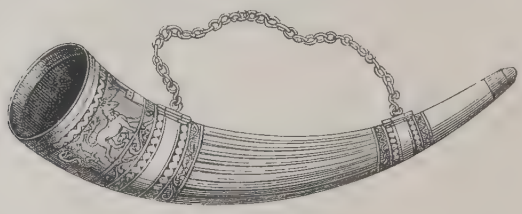
with animals, and terminating in heads of serpents or birds. Many of these illuminated letters are in a style altogether peculiar to the English school, and of a very bold and rich character. Embroidery in gold and silver thread and silks of various colours was much practised by ladies of rank, and great part of the Bayeux tapestry wrought in commemoration of the Norman Conquest, is thought to have been executed

Musical Instruments of the Anglo-Saxons. (Cotton MS.)

by the compelled labours of the English women. Music was also cultivated with ardour, although confined to simple melody

down to the 11th century, when the present system of notation was introduced by Guido Aretinus. The Gregorian chant was no doubt brought over by Augustin and his companions, but it is to Theodore of Canterbury that the first general diffusion of superior church music is owing. Permanent schools of music were finally established at the monasteries, and a principal one at Canterbury. The musical instruments which they possessed, besides bells, were the horn, trumpet, flute, drum, cymbals, rote or viol, lyre and harp, which last is sometimes represented as triangular and sometimes square or oblong, with a number of strings varying from four to eleven. It was the favourite instrument of festive companies, and was not improbably borrowed from the Irish.* They were acquainted also with the organ, though of a rude and simple kind.

13. In metals the Anglo-Saxons worked with great skill. So early, perhaps, as the 7th century, the English jewellers and goldsmiths were eminent in their professions, and great



Horn of Ulphus — York Minster.

quantities of their trinkets were constantly exported to the Continent. Smiths and armourers were highly esteemed, and even the clergy thought it no disgrace to handle their tools. St. Dunstan, in particular, is celebrated as the best blacksmith, brazier, goldsmith, and engraver of his time. For these purposes the mines of England seem to have furnished abundance of materials, and to have been worked to a considerable extent. The churches were the chief objects of orna-

* So famous was the church music of the Irish in those times, that the daughter of Pepin of France, in the 7th century, is recorded to have sent to Ireland for persons qualified to instruct the nuns of Nivelle in psalmody.

ment, and were roofed with lead, and filled with gold and silver cups, images and crucifixes, and windows of stained glass.

Enamelled Gold Ring of Ethelwulf, King of Wessex. A D. 836—838.
(In the British Museum.)

14. Carpentry was well understood both for the purposes of architecture and for the construction of carts, waggons, ploughs, and other implements of agriculture. They built also travelling carriages and ships, (both, however, sufficiently rude,) with the usual variety of domestic conveniencies. Woollen and linen cloths were also manufactured, though not, perhaps, of a very fine quality.

CHAPTER IV.

NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. All freemen and proprietors of land, except the ministers of religion, were trained to the use of arms, and always held ready to take the field at a moment's warning. At certain times they met in each tithing, hundred, and county, for martial exercises, and there was a general review or wapenshaw of all the arms and armed men in each county upon a certain day in the month of May. Military service was performed for the clergy by their tenants. The troops were composed of the infantry or ceorls, and the cavalry or thanes. The first were variously armed with spears, long bills or battleaxes, broad double-edged swords and clubs, and had little defensive ar-

Warrior in ringed Mail and common Soldier. (Cotton MS.)

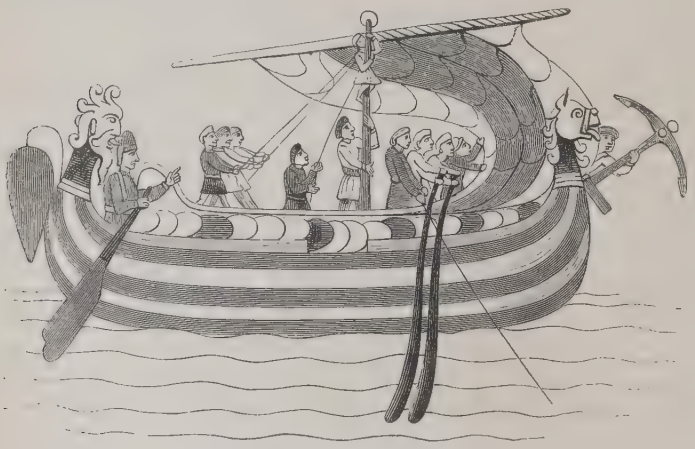
mour beyond a small oval shield with a boss in the centre, a leathern helmet, a breast guard or gorget, and a linen tunic. The cavalry were better armed, and added to the linen or

leathern tunic scales or rings of metal (mascles), and in very early times, perhaps, thin slices of horses' hoofs, sewn carefully on. The improvement of detaching the rings from the garment and linking them one into the other is generally placed so late as Edward I., but from some expressions that occur in an Anglo-Saxon poem of the 10th century, it would appear that it was then known. In that century the helmet, which was originally square or four-pointed, became conical, and shortly after was furnished with a nasal or bar of iron hanging over the nose. The distinctive *seax* has been much disputed, but seems to have meant a sharp weapon of any kind, whether curved or straight. The Danes and Normans of the 10th and 11th centuries were more heavily armed than the Anglo-Saxons, and were trained to shoot well with the bow, which the latter seem before their arrival to have neglected. The saddles of the cavalry were of very simple construction, without cruppers and often without stirrups, and their spurs were the simple goad or pryck-spur, fastened with leathers nearly as up to the present day.

2. Every troop had its peculiar standard, to which they were very much attached. In battle they were generally ranged according to their respective counties, and were thus stimulated to fight valiantly by all the ties of neighbourhood and kindred. Regular sieges were hardly known, or long-protracted campaigns, for the fyrd or militia-levy was only bound to serve forty days at a time, and all the valour and skill of the English seems to have been baffled even by the hasty encampments of the Danes, the remains of which may yet be often seen.

3. The Saxons had long been famous for their naval enterprises before they attempted the conquest of Britain, although their chiules (keels) or war-ships were, down to the 5th century, but little better than the osier coracles of the British. After their settlement in this island, they, however, completely neglected the sea, and it was not till the reign of Alfred that they seem to have thought of building a ship, at least for the purposes of war. In this abandonment of maritime pursuits they acted like their brother Franks on the Continent, whilst

the Danes and other Northmen continued to pursue their conquests chiefly upon the ocean. Even they too, when they had once attained a firm postion on the broad plains of England, lost much of their old nautical spirit, which neither commerce nor war any longer sufficiently supported. The want of a navy was sadly felt by Alfred, but it only aroused the genius of that immortal prince. He quickly set about building ships much longer and loftier than those of the Danes, and carrying sixty or more oars, with proportionate crews. At the close of his reign, his whole squadron exceeded a hundred sail, which were stationed at different ports round the island or kept cruising along the channel. The ships were still, however, nothing more than large boats with one mast and a single great sail, the prows adorned with heads of men and animals, and sometimes richly gilt.



Ancient Ship. (From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

4. Alfred encouraged voyages of discovery, and has transmitted to us with his own hand an account of two, one round the North Cape and another up the Baltic. He sent Swithelm, Bishop of Sherburn, also on an embassy to the Syrian Christians on the coast of Malabar, whence the adventurous traveller returned with many presents of spices and jewels from the grateful children of St. Thomas.

In the reign of Athelstan A.D. 925 — 940) the naval

power of England was respected by all its neighbours, and under Ethelred the Unready (A.D. 1008) a very large fleet was raised for the defence of the country, by obliging every owner of 310 hydes of land to furnish one ship properly equipped. Harold had a fleet at sea at the time of the Conquest; but just before the landing of William, the ships had either been called elsewhere, or had returned into port for want of pay and provisions, and consequently afforded no assistance to their unfortunate master.

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

1. The production of food employed the great bulk of the Anglo-Saxon population, although agriculture seems to have made but little progress during this period. They were indeed more of graziers than ploughmen, almost three parts of the kingdom being set apart for the grazing of cattle. Land was exceedingly cheap, an acre being frequently sold for the price of four sheep, or one third less than the price of a horse. All farming operations were of a rude and simple kind, although the labourer was not without a sufficient supply of serviceable tools. The ploughs, picks, spades, scythes, reaping-hooks, flails, and axes of the husbandman, as drawn in old

Ploughing, Sowing, Mowing, Gleaning, Measuring Corn, and Harvest Supper. (Harleian MS.)

MSS., are of a very good shape, and must have required a considerable quantity of iron in the construction.

Church lands were generally the best cultivated; and, on the properties of the clergy, the great woods and waste lands,

which spoiled other estates, were kept within much more moderate bounds. The great lords commonly retained a part of their estates in their own hands, for the supply of their own dwelling-houses, and let out the rest to the ceorls at a moderate rent, which was fixed by law, and usually paid in kind, even on the crown lands.* The boundaries of property were carefully marked by a ditch, a brook, a hedge, a wooden mark, or some other prominent object. The arable and meadow lands were protected by gates from the encroachments of cattle and swine, which latter were kept in prodigious numbers, and esteemed amongst the most valuable possessions.† Sheep seem to have been valued principally for their fleece, and not so much for their flesh. With such an imperfect state of agriculture it is not surprising that terrible famines should often occur, so that in one year (A. D. 1044) a quarter of wheat sold for sixty pence, or about eight pounds of our money, an enormous price for the times.

2. Gardens and orchards were chiefly planted in the neighbourhood of monasteries, and sometimes produced even grapes, as well as figs, nuts, almonds, pears, and apples; nor was ornamental planting altogether neglected, or the management of bees, so necessary for the production of the favourite mead. Turf, and (as some suppose) even coal, seem to have been raised for fuel. Hand-mills for corn were always in use, but towards the close of the period watermills and windmills had become general.

3. A singular change in the habits and pursuits of the Saxons took place after their settlement in Britain. Before that time the sea was their favourite element; but after they had rested in its pleasant vales, they entirely neglected navigation for several centuries. The first distinct notice of foreign

* By the laws of King Ina, a farm of 10 hydes (about 1000 acres) was to pay the following rent: viz., 10 casks of honey, 300 loaves, 12 casks of strong ale, 30 of small, 2 oxen, 10 wethers, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, 1 cask of butter, 5 salmon, 100 eels, and 20 lb. (?) of forage.

† The swine fed in great herds amongst the oak and beech groves, under the care of numerous swineherds. *Bacon* is said to be derived from the old word bucon, or *beech-mast.*

trade which we find is not earlier than the close of the eighth century. English commodities were then occasionally carried abroad, and probably some of those from the Continent brought to this country, chiefly by the pilgrims who went on religious journeys to Rome. On these goods certain duties were exacted at the seaports, according to the custom of the Romans, which gave rise to the first commercial treaty on record, namely, the letter of the French emperor Charlemagne to Offa, king of Mercia. This curious document may be assigned to the year 795, and contains a special prohibition of all smuggling under the disguise of pilgrimage, which was then not unfrequently practised. From this time we have little further trace of commerce till the reign of Alfred. That great monarch introduced new manufactures, repaired the seaports, encouraged the building of vessels and the prosecution of distant voyages, and gave a new character to the maritime affairs of England.

4. His grandson Athelstan ennobled commerce by enacting that every merchant who should make three voyages over the sea with his own ship and cargo should be entitled to the rank of a thane, and established mints at the principal trading towns, so that merchants, on returning from a voyage, might be enabled to convert their bullion into current coin without much trouble or expense. Under Ethelred, at the close of the tenth century, we find port-dues charged at Billingsgate (the famous fish mart of London), and several notices of foreign vessels and merchants coming to England, which indicate the continued progress of trade. From an old Saxon work preserved in the British Museum, it appears indeed that the occupation of a merchant was regarded as of considerable importance. Canute the Dane fostered commerce and negotiated an important commercial treaty with several foreign powers. The trade of England from his time flourished exceedingly, and the merchants and seamen gradually acquired great weight in the public councils of the kingdom.

5. Of the exports during this period we have not much knowledge. Corn does not seem to have been raised in sufficient quantities for foreign sale; but wool may have been taken off by the great Flemish weavers; and tin, lead, and iron

with, perhaps, gold and silver, seem to have been frequently carried abroad. Horses also are supposed to have been exported, and more certainly *slaves*. Many of the slave-traders were Jews, who found a good market for their victims amongst the heathen Saracens in Spain and Africa. This gave rise to several canons of the Church against selling Christian slaves to Jews or Pagans. Chester and Bristol were the great ports for this abominable trade, so far at least as related to Ireland, where Saxon slaves were largely purchased, probably by the Danish settlers.

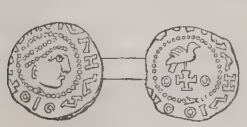
Of the imports books, especially on religious subjects, and Bibles and missals for the churches, with relics, pictures and images, vestments for the clergy, altar cloths and sacramental vessels, formed no inconsiderable portion. Precious stones, gold, silver, silk, linen, spiceries, drugs, &c. were brought from Venice and other cities of Italy; wines from Spain and France; cloths from Germany and Flanders; and furs, deerskins, whale oil, ropes, &c. from Scandinavia. In short, the foreign trade of England was so extensive, even at this remote period, as to furnish such of her inhabitants as could afford to pay for them, with a share of all the commodities then known or enjoyed in any part of Europe.

6. Of the internal trade of the country we know but little. It was probably on a small scale, and laboured under great restrictions. By some laws no man was allowed to buy any thing above the value of twenty pence, except within a town, and in the presence of the chief magistrate and other witnesses. Commodities of that value also paid a certain duty to the king and the portreeve. On the other hand, it was promoted by the institution of fairs and markets, which were copied from the Romans. Sunday was at first the usual market day; but by the efforts of the Church, Saturday was, at length, generally substituted. Fairs were also commonly held near some cathedral church or monastery, and on the anniversary of its dedication (*wake*), a custom which prevails to this day in many places. The old Roman roads still presented considerable facilities of communication, and were aided, it is supposed, in some places by artificial canals.

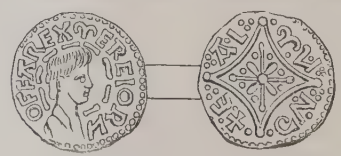
7. The subject of Anglo-Saxon money is very perplexed and obscure. The earliest coins of this period are those known by the name of sceattæ, but whether they were brought over from the Continent at the first settling, or struck in this country afterwards, is quite uncertain. They are of silver, but not of common occurrence. The types or letters on them have not been well explained; but some of them are clearly of Roman character, and thus form a connecting link between the Roman and Saxon coins. The sceatta was probably of somewhat less value than its successor, the penny. The earliest specimens which we possess are of the kingdom of Kent, one of which was probably struck before the establishment of Christianity, being without the appropriate symbol of the cross. The different coins, or names of coins, which were used at a later date, and their probable values, are stated in the following table: —

Name.	Grains Troy of Silver.	Present Value.
		£ s. d.
Pound (money of account) - -	5400	2 16 3
Mark (ditto) - - - -	3600	1 17 9
Mancus (ditto *probably*) - -	675	about 7 0¼
Ora (ditto) - - - -	450	4 8¼
Greater Shilling (ditto *probably*)	112½	1 2
Lesser ditto (ditto *probably*) -	90	11¼
Thrimsa (ditto *probably*) - -	67½	8½
Penny (silver coin) - - -	22½	2¾
Halfpenny (ditto) - - -	11¼	1¼
Farthing (ditto *perhaps*) - -	5½	¾
Styca (copper coin), peculiar to the north of England	2¾	about ⅓ of a farthing.

These were by no means all real coins; on the contrary, the lowest alone are supposed to have actually existed, whilst



Saxon Sceatta.



Silver Penny of Offa, A.D. 757—796.

the others were only money of account, as is noted in the table. If the mancus were ever a real coin, it came most

probably from some foreign mints. It is uncertain whether any of them were made of gold, although that metal may have been used in its rude state for payments. Silver pennies and copper stycas are the only pieces which have as yet been found. Great doubt also exists as to the value of the several coins or denominations of money, but the most probable estimate is given in the table. The mark and ora were Danish denominations, and introduced by the Danish settlers. Mints were established by the different kings, and by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and great care was taken to preserve the weight and purity of the coinage.

Besides the coins of their own minting, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have used several foreign coins, especially the Byzantine gold solidi (value forty Saxon pennies, or about 9*s.* 4½*d.*), and slaves and cattle were also employed as a circulating medium of common occurrence.* These were called *living money*, and were used in exchange universally, with the honourable exception of the clergy, who would not take slaves on any account.

8. Of the general proportion between the value of money in those times and at the present moment, it is difficult to form a correct notion; but it may be said loosely, that an Anglo-Saxon could have purchased (at least at some periods) twenty animals of any description for the same quantity of silver that an Englishman must now pay for one. Some articles, however, as for instance books, were infinitely higher than they are in these days.

* Cattle formed so important a part of the commerce of early times, that their figures were stamped on the oldest coins, and the very word *pecunia* is derived from *pecus*. Mulct or multa, *a fine*, is also said to be derived from the old Sabine name for a ram, which is preserved to this day in Gaelic, in which a wether is called *molt* or *mult*. Hence also our word *mutton*.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

1. The dwellings of our richer Anglo-Saxon ancestors were by no means devoid of comfort, being handsomely furnished, and hung with silk richly embroidered in gold and colours. Their chairs and tables were highly carved and ornamented, and their beds fitted up in the most luxurious style. The poorer classes were, however, content with much ruder accommodations.

2. The dress of the men consisted of a linen shirt, over which they wore a tunic of linen or woollen with long sleeves, descending to the knee, and plain or ornamented round the collar and borders according to the rank of the wearer. Over this was worn a short cloak, fastened with a brooch. Linen drawers, and stockings of linen or woollen,

Anglo-Saxon Costume. (Harleian and Cotton MSS.)

often cross-gartered from the knee down with strips of cloth, linen, or leather, were worn by the better orders; and shoes

or boots of some description by all, even by the lowest labourers. Coverings for the head are rarely seen, except upon figures of warriors. Silks, purple cloth, golden tissues, and furs, were used in dress by persons of the higher ranks. Men also wore ornaments of gold, silver, and ivory. The hair was worn long, except when the clergy were particularly earnest against it; and the beard large, and generally forked. It is curious enough that the barbaric practice of tattooing the skin should have continued throughout the entire Anglo-Saxon period, and be mentioned as a "vice of the English" by a Norman historian.

The female costume consisted of a long and large gown (*gunna*), worn over a tunic or kirtle; shoes like those of the men; and a head-dress formed of a long piece of silk or linen, wrapped round the head and neck. The ladies paid particular attention to the dressing and ornamenting of their hair, and delighted in golden bracelets, ear-rings, and neck crosses. Gloves appear to have been very rare, five pair being considered as a very handsome present to the king from a company of German merchants.

Anglo Saxon Dinner Party. (Cotton MS.)

3. Sufficient attention was paid to the duties of the table, persons of substance having constantly four meals a day, of

which flesh meat, boiled, baked, or broiled, formed the chief portion. An opulent lady is mentioned, who bequeathed her cook to one of her friends. Both sexes sat together at table; and many of the little delicacies of society appear to have been well understood. Thus the tables were covered with a cloth, which sometimes hangs over the knees of the guests, as if a substitute for napkins. Knives, horns, bowls, and dishes were suitably ranged on the board: and the attendants served the meat on spits, kneeling before the feasters. Excessive drinking was largely indulged in, and the cup and the harp circulated together till a late hour. This passion for convivial pleasures penetrated even into the religious houses; and several futile attempts were made by the provincial councils to check the monastic scenes of gambling, dancing, and singing, "even to the very middle of the night."

Dance with Lyre and double Flute. (Cotton MS.)

4. Personal cleanliness was carefully observed. The use of warm baths appears to have been general; and when a stranger entered a house, water was always brought to wash his hands and feet. One of the severest penances of the Church was the temporary denial of the bath, and of cutting the hair and nails.

5. The treatment of children was, in general, kind; and

legal provision was made for the maintenance of foundlings. They were baptized by immersion, and anointed with the consecrated oil within thirty days after their birth. The connexion between the child and its God-parents was much regarded in after life.

A father, however, if very poor, might give up his son to slavery for seven years, if the child's consent were obtained. A child of ten years old could give evidence in a court of justice. Until a daughter was fifteen years old, her father could marry her to whomsoever he pleased; but after that age he lost the power. Literary education of every kind was given in the monasteries; but it was only in later times that the children of the higher classes learned any thing beyond the arts of war and the chase.

6. Women were treated with great respect, and relieved from the severer labours, even amongst the lower classes. They possessed properties in their own right, and were protected, in various ways, by special laws. Marriage settlements were drawn up with great care, and the ceremony itself celebrated with proper splendour. In political affairs, also, women exercised great influence, and in one or two instances were even permitted to fill the throne. Nor were they devoid of intellectual cultivation or the graces of manner, and often formed the character of the noblest men of their time.

7. The out-door sports of the Anglo-Saxons were hunting, hawking, and fishing, which were pursued with great ardour. Game laws were, however, unknown, save when the king hunted in person, when no person might interfere with the royal pastime. Within doors they amused themselves with games resembling chess and backgammon, and with the all-important glee-men, who sang, played, danced, tumbled, and performed sleight of hand tricks for the pleasure of the company. Animals also were trained to go through various attitudes; and some rude outline of the drama may occasionally be perceived.

8. The bodies of the dead were originally burnt by the Germans; but interment seems to have been the uniform practice of the Anglo-Saxons. The use of coffins made of

stone, wood, or lead, was general; and linen shrouds, or, with the clergy, the official dresses, enveloped the corpse. The burial places at first were carefully removed from the abodes of men; but Archbishop Cuthbert, about the middle of the eighth century, obtained permission to bury the dead within cities. The passing bell was rung, that all within hearing might pray for the soul of the deceased; and a payment, called the "soul-sceat," or soul-penny, was made to the clergy after a death. For the purpose of procuring honourable interment, burying-clubs or gilds were formed amongst the working men, the members of which were bound under a penalty to attend the body to the grave. The funerals of distinguished persons were conducted with great ceremony, and incense was thrown over the corpse, as it lay in the tomb, by the officiating priests.

BOOK III.

NORMAN PERIOD. A.D. 1066—1216.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. The great distinctive feature of the Norman rule in England is the establishment of the feudal system, which had, indeed, partially existed amongst the Anglo-Saxons, but was now introduced in its full perfection. This extraordinary institution, many of whose forms, and not a little of the spirit, are still preserved amongst us, arose by degrees out of the condition in which the northern hordes found themselves after the downfal of the Roman empire. The conquered lands of Europe were divided by the leaders, at first, perhaps, most commonly in full and unconditional ownership. Such estates were called *alod*, a word to which different meanings have been assigned. In process of time the holders of small allodial properties would feel the insecurity of their possession amidst the constant wars and ravages which surrounded them, and would give up to some greater landowner their original unconditional right to their property, upon terms of mutual assistance and protection. Probably, also, from the very first (as has been already pointed out amongst the Anglo-Saxons, and even amongst the Romanized Britons) some portions of land were granted to the retainers of the more distinguished warriors in such conditional way. *Beneficium* was the word made use of from the 5th to the 9th century to express this latter sort of tenure; but it was afterwards called *feodum*, a phrase which has been variously derived from German, Greek, or Latin. Towards the end of the 10th century, the feudal system was

fully formed, and aristocratical institutions were predominant throughout Europe.

The feudal lord in those days held with the soil all, or nearly all, the rights over the inhabitants, which constitute what we call sovereignty, and which are now possessed by the government. This was called holding in fief or fee. This system naturally gave society in the middle ages a character of isolation and of unbridled despotism. The great lord led a life of idleness and comparative loneliness in his lofty castle, surrounded by no immediate equals but his own wife and children, whilst his little group of subject husbandmen encircled the walls, exposed, without redress, to every caprice of their proprietor. In such a condition it is not wonderful that the excitements of war and the chase should have been eagerly and constantly sought, and that the splendid apparatus of chivalry should have arisen to supply the cravings of the restless and half-occupied mind of the Norman noble.

2. It is obvious, also, that over such a crowd of independent landholders, all devoted to military affairs, the authority of the sovereign, although nominally the greatest feudatory of the whole, would be but slight, and that even the general sentence of his equals would only affect an offending baron so far as he knew and felt their power to enforce it. Much greater power, however, was thrown into the hands of the monarch in England than upon the Continent, from the circumstance that the duke of Normandy transferred to this country the exclusive authority which he had been accustomed to exercise in his own dominions, and received, as king of England, the fealty or submission of all the landholders, without exception, both of those who held in chief (*i.e.* from the king *direct*) and of their respective tenants or vassals. This was a step far beyond the usual position of the feudal lords, to each of whom alone the fealty of his own vassals was commonly due. Besides, the Anglo-Norman fiefs were much smaller than those of France, and dispersed over various counties. William the Conqueror also took care to secure immense possessions and the principal towns, as his own share; and had the means of enforcing a greater amount of

Great Seal of William the Conqueror.

feudal services, and of collecting a much larger revenue than was usual in those days.

3. The position of the different ranks of the people was not much altered by the Conquest. The labouring classes remained as before, partly slaves (*villains in gross*) and partly bondmen or boors attached to the soil (*villains regardant*); above these were the freemen and tenants, holding estates either directly from the king or under a middle lord, and exercising various rights, according to their station. All the duties of legislation seem originally to have been confined to the tenants in chief; but the inferior freeholders might perform municipal functions, and sit in some of the courts to execute the law. Perhaps even the tenants in chief were not all summoned to parliament, but only those who had had such a privilege or barony conferred upon them by the crown.* The great change appeared in the total abolition of allodial property; the Conqueror having assumed to himself the *dominium directum*, or original and supreme ownership of all the lands in the kingdom, at the same time that he took possession of the throne.

4. A sort of Parliament, or Common Council of the realm, was no doubt occasionally held during this period. The great nobles and the bishops of the Church were called around the king on solemn festivals and consulted on public matters; but the power of the monarch was raised so much higher than that of any vassal, that the real consequence of such a meeting must have been but inconsiderable. Every public act, indeed, proceeded from the throne; and the public officers of state, by whom the whole machinery of government was carried on, always bore the titles of the king's household. These were the Grand Seneschal, or Dapifer *Angliæ* (the present lord high steward), who was

* The only titles of nobility at this period were those of Baron, and Earl or Count, the latter being in all cases either the possessor or governor of a county, and also a baron, which phrase, indeed, meant no more than a person holding lands in fee on the usual condition of military service. The king's barons were the tenants of the crown, as other tenants were the barons of the lordship of which they held.

next to the king himself in dignity, and at the head of all the various departments of the state. This office seems afterwards to have been divided into two parts, and committed, in its judicial character, to the Chief Justiciary, and, in its administrative quality and matters relating to the king's palace or household, to the Seneschal, or Dapifer *regis*. The power and dignity of the original office was such that it raised the Carlovingians and the Plantagenets to the throne, and was held in England by a member of the royal family alone, from the attainder of the Earls of Leicester (to whom it had descended by marriage from the Grantmesnils) under Henry III. till its abolition as an hereditary post in the reign of Henry IV. The lord high steward has ever since been specially appointed, and only upon the particular occasion of a peer's trial for treason or felony before the House of Lords.* Then came the Comes Stabuli or Constable; an officer who had at first the charge of the king's stable, but afterwards took the place of the seneschal as leader of the armies under the king: the Mareschal, another military officer, whose name is derived from the old German marach, *a horse*, and schalch, *a master:* and the Chamberlain, whose title sufficiently indicates his station.

The Chancellor was not at first of so great importance as he afterwards became. He rather resembled the later clerk of the closet, who acted as a sort of confidential chaplain and secretary to the king. On the decline of the seneschal's office, however, the chancellorship grew up by degrees, although it has never quite reached the authority of the High Justiciary. The first lay lord chancellor was Sir Thomas More; and the last ecclesiastic was Bishop Williams, in 1636.

The Treasurer was the last of the great officers of state, and was mostly a clergyman. His position was also a very subordinate one in the beginning, although now (such are the mutations of time) the chancellor has become the first in

* The very name of the House of Stuart arose from their originally holding the great office of Steward of Scotland. The present lord steward is only an officer of the household, and has no political station.

dignity, and the first lord of the treasury the highest in political power; whilst the lord steward, lord chamberlain, and earl marshal, are mere appendages of the court; and the great high steward, to all ordinary intents and purposes, is no longer in existence.

5. These officers seem not only to have attended to the public business of the realm, but also to have administered justice in a court which was originally held in the king's palace, or wherever he happened to be in person. This court was, in course of time, divided into several, now well known as the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, and Exchequer. It is uncertain when this division took place, but most probably about the time of King John, who fixed the moving courts irrevocably in Westminster Hall.

Great changes, indeed, took place in the administration of the law after the Conquest. Trial by jury gradually superseded the old Saxon modes of ordeal and compurgation, and careful sifting of evidence took the place of direct appeals to the judgment of Heaven. This important change may have arisen in the felt necessity of examining some of the compurgators more strictly than others; and the exercise of discretion required in such cases on the part of the court may have called for the appointment of a select committee to conduct such examination, rather than that it should be left to a large and variable assembly. The witnesses, however, in those days, as being the persons upon whose respectability and belief of the prisoner's honour or infamy the whole matter rested, would naturally be regarded as the real triers of the cause; and so the committee aforesaid might naturally be chosen out of their body—not from the court itself. Thus the witnesses of the greatest known probity, or best acquainted with the facts of the case, would be selected to agree among themselves as to how the truth stood; in fact, to try the cause. These would probably be called upon to make their depositions with more form and solemnity than ordinary witnesses—perhaps upon their oath. Their number might also after a time come to be definitely fixed, both as conducing to fairness, and on account of the popular feeling in favour of

particular numbers; and then, by separating the original connection between these triers and the other witnesses in the cause, we should have the precise origin of the much-applauded trial by jury. Two instances only of this mode of trial are recorded during the reign of William I.; but afterwards they become more frequent. The first enactment which established it as a general rule appears to have been one of the laws passed by Henry II., at Clarendon, about 1176. By this law the justices were to make inquiry by the oaths of twelve knights or other lawful men of each hundred, together with the four men from each township, of all murders, robberies and thefts, &c., since the king's accession to the throne.*

The ordeal was still permitted, however, as an appeal after the verdict of the inquest had been given; nor was it finally prohibited by the Church till the Fourth Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215. Its ancient companion, the wager of battle, however, still remained uncensured and unabolished.

6. These changes in judicial proceedings caused a change also in the constitution of the courts. Judges were now of necessity appointed, and, as early as 1118, justices itinerant, or in Eyre, as they were called, were appointed to go on circuits through the kingdom. These were made a regular part of the judicature in 1176, and the great officers of state thereupon gave up their places in the king's court to the proper professional lawyers.

7. The various alterations which were introduced both by Danes and Normans into the old Saxon laws, render it almost impossible to refer any particular part of our present common law to a specific origin; but it is probable that the influence of the king's court and of the periodical assizes gave the whole system of judicature a decidedly Norman character, and that the proportion of the Saxon element is very small indeed. Among the decided innovations after the Conquest may be reckoned the courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the bishops being henceforth forbidden to sit, as before, along with laymen in the civil courts. These spiritual courts partially

* Other acts of the same king appear to have established the inquest by twelve lawful men in civil suits also.

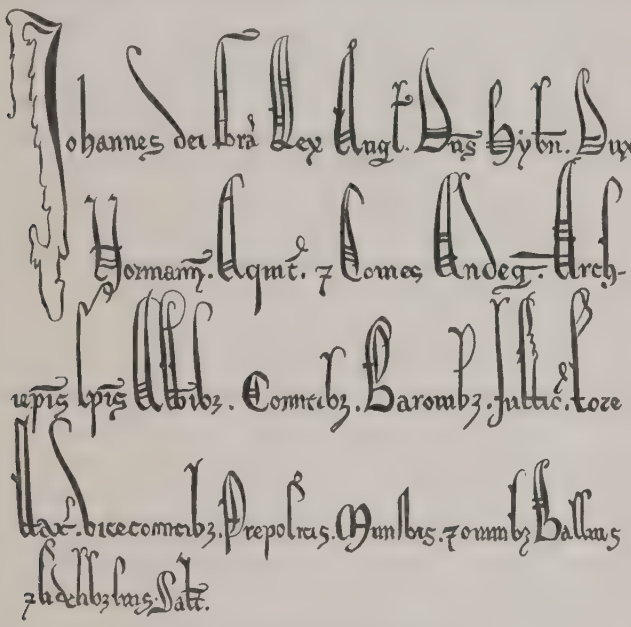
established the authority of the canon law in England, and the principles and rules of the Roman or civil law were also introduced through their influence. Attorneys or agents for the management of causes probably arose at this period. Written records of judicial procedures appear to have commenced about the reign of Richard I., before which time the phrase *to record* meant simply to testify from memory.

The common notion that all pleadings were now carried on, and deeds and laws drawn up, in Norman-French must be considerably modified, for no aversion was shown to the Anglo-Saxon tongue by the Conqueror or his immediate successors, who employed it continually in their charters, and no deed or law is found written in French till the time of Henry III.

8. The great Charters which are usually regarded as the bulwarks of English liberty form the most important part of the legislation of this period. These famous concessions on the part of the monarchs arose from the struggles in which they and a portion of their nobles were so frequently engaged with the rest of the barons, who united upon the old feudal basis to resist the constant encroachments of the royal power. The contest came, in fact, to be, not between the conquering Normans and the discontented Saxons, but between royalty and aristocracy, in which the latter were generally successful. The first charter granted by the Anglo-Norman kings was the confirmation of the Saxon laws of Edward the Confessor by William I. It is assigned to the year 1070.

These old laws were further confirmed by the charter of Henry I., in which also many rights and liberties were granted to the church and kingdom. Stephen gave two charters; one to the clergy, the other to the barons; and Henry II. added a fourth, which, like the others, contained many promises which were never performed. The great act of all, however, was the well-known Magna Charta, which was granted by King John at Runnimede on the 15th of June, 1215. Its enactments may be arranged under three heads: Rights of the Clergy, Rights of the Barons, Rights of the People at large. In all these divisions it would appear

that the regulations made for the liberty of the subject were founded not so much upon Saxon as upon Norman and feudal laws, and were intended chiefly for the better maintenance of



Specimen of Magna Charta.*

feudal privileges against the overpowering influence of the throne. Great security, however, was, no doubt, intended to be given to the free tenantry; and one slight provision against unreasonable fines was made even for the neglected class of villains.

9. The revenues of the Anglo-Norman kings were much larger than those of their predecessors. The crown had acquired the entire property of above 1400 manors, besides 68 royal forests, 13 chases, and 781 parks in different parts of

* Johannes dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hyberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, forestariis, vicecomitibus, præpositis, ministris, et omnibus ballivis, et fidelibus suis, salutem.

the country. The lands, too, which were granted to the followers of the Conqueror were subjected to the payment of annual quit rents and of other extraordinary dues of still greater amount. Every tenant of the crown was also bound to furnish an armed soldier for each knight's fee, and maintain him in the field for forty days every time that the king went to war. This was afterwards commuted by Henry II. into a money payment of twenty shillings for each knight's fee, which was called an escuage or tax for furnishing a *bowman*. The crown also drew large sums from its prerogatives of wardship and marriage over its tenants, and the claim upon escheats or landed property of persons who died without heirs or were executed for treason or felony. The profits of the estates of idiots also belonged to the crown; along with treasure trove (money or plate found hidden in the earth), waifs (goods thrown away by a thief in his flight), and estrays (cattle found wandering without an owner), whales and sturgeons caught or thrown ashore, (hence called royal fish), all wrecked goods on which no claim was established within a certain time, and all spoil taken in war.

Taxes were also imposed to a considerable extent. The old Saxon land-tax, or danegelt, was revived by William, and levied by the succeeding kings. Two kinds of hearth-money, customs duties, and a property tax or tallage, (*cutting*, from the French *tailler*,) were added, which last was raised very considerably to meet the expenses of the crusades. There were various other irregular sources of revenue, some of which appear to us highly ludicrous, and others must have been of the most injurious character to the interests of commerce. Finally, we may add the sums that were frequently obtained by downright extortion and robbery, which were practised, indeed, most regularly upon the Jews, but often also upon the king's most Christian subjects, and even on the churches and monasteries. From all these channels the returns must have been very great. The income of the Conqueror has been estimated at more than 1060*l.* per day, which would be equivalent in the year to nearly 1,200,000*l.* of our money, and, in actual application, to a much larger sum. Richard I. collected

a revenue within two years of not less than 1,100,000 marks. The rents of the crown lands were chiefly paid in kind till the close of the reign of Henry I.

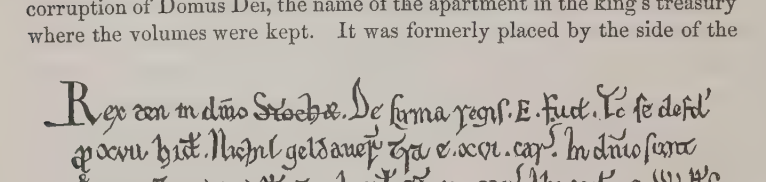
10. On the whole, the victorious arrival of the active and spirited Normans was of infinite value in the formation of our English character. They were far superior to the degenerated and indolent Saxons in learning and in all the polish of life, as well as in the arts of war. Their wealth was spent, not in sensual enjoyments, but in works of permanent utility or embellishment, and they gave a fresh impulse to agriculture and commerce. To the immediate possessors of the land, however, it was, no doubt, the cause of extensive and extreme suffering. The English Conquest was especially one of confiscation and plunder, and the alien government was compelled, by the very course which it had itself commenced, to exercise the most constant and iron despotism. It is true that some Saxon families were still left in the enjoyment of their property, but the great bulk of the landowners were suddenly driven from their domains, and their miseries were perpetuated by the grinding exactions which pressed upon every class of society alike. In Domesday Book we find a faithful record of the extent of spoliation thus inflicted, and, in some degree, of the general depression of national prosperity which was its immediate consequence. Almost all the chief towns throughout the kingdom seem to have been greatly reduced in their population and number of houses, whilst the taxes levied upon them were, in most cases, fearfully augmented.*

* Domesday Book is well known as the general survey of the whole kingdom, except the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, and part of Lancashire. This great work, which was finished in the very short space of one year (A.D. 1085-6), contained a statement of the extent of lands in each district, their proprietors, tenures, and value, the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land which they contained, and in some counties the number of tenants, villains, cottarii, and servi, who lived on them; and all this at a triple estimate: — 1. as the estate was held in the time of the Confessor; 2. as it was bestowed by King William; 3. as its value stood at the time of the survey.

Domesday has been supposed to have an allusion to the day of *doom*, or the last judgment; but this seems rather forced. Stow says that it is a

The character and execution of the Norman code, especially of the forest laws, were awfully severe as regarded the public at large; but the servants and retainers of the court were allowed to indulge in the greatest atrocities without restraint.*

corruption of Domus Dei, the name of the apartment in the king's treasury where the volumes were kept. It was formerly placed by the side of the



Specimen of Domesday Book.[1]

tally court in the exchequer under three different locks and keys. In 1696 it was deposited in the chapter-house at Westminster, where it still remains.

* The seizure and wasting of the lands in Hampshire for the formation of a royal chase, is one of the most melancholy instances in all history of the dreadful abuse of arbitrary power. The whole south-western part of the county, measuring thirty miles from Salisbury to the sea, and in circumference not much less than ninety miles, was suddenly dispossessed of its inhabitants and turned into the vast park, of which a part still remains in the New Forest. 108 places, manors, villages, or hamlets, with 36 mother or parish churches, suffered in this sweeping waste, for which not a single proprietor received the slightest compensation. In many spots the lines of building may still be faintly traced, and the occasional names of Church Place, Church Moor, Thomson's Castle, and such like, mark out the sites of ancient habitations and places of worship. The laws of the New Forest ordained that any one who should kill a stag, deer, or wild boar, should have his eyes torn out; and statutes equally severe

[1] Rex tenet in dominio Stochæ. De firma Regis E. fuit. Tunc se defendebat pro 17 hidis. Nichil geldaverunt. Terra est 16 carucatæ. In dominio sunt 2æ carucatæ et 24 villani et 10 bordarii cum 20 carucis. Ibi ecclesia quam Willelmus tenet de Rege cum dimidia hida in elemosina. Ibi 5 servi et 2 molini de 25 sol. et 16 acræ prati. Silva 40 porcorum et ipsa est in parco Regis.

Perhaps this very tyranny of the crown had the effect of driving the subjects of both races into closer union, and so of abolishing much sooner their national distinctions. Not long after the Conquest we find the Saxons beginning to adopt the superior habits of the Normans, except in the article of eating and drinking; which having learned, as they said, from their old enemies, the Danes, they now, in turn, communicated, with redoubled relish, to their new victors. By the time of Stephen the name of Englishman had ceased to be a reproach, and was even assumed by the Norman barons in their common struggles with the people against the power of the throne.

By the time of Henry II. the English had begun to be admitted to offices of honour and profit in the state, and intermarriages had taken place to such an extent that the original stock of the freemen could hardly be distinguished. The villains, indeed, from their peculiar position still remained of pure Saxon blood. With this union of races came a corresponding softening and comprehensiveness of the law, and that gradual reform of the constitution of which Magna Charta stands forward as the first grand step.

were made even to protect the hares. "This savage king," says the Saxon Chronicle, "loved wild beasts as if he had been their father!" Even his Norman nobles were prohibited from keeping sporting dogs unless their forepaws were mutilated; but to the poor English, whose subsistence often depended much upon the chase, these severe restrictions were a source of great distress. The preservation of game has, indeed, in all ages, been accompanied, necessarily or unnecessarily, by great sternness both in the formation and execution of the law, though rarely to much purpose.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION.

1. With the invasion of the Normans no barbarous heathen power rushed in to overthrow the fabric of Christianity in England. The invaders and the invaded were of the same religion, and differed little even in its minuter forms. Political differences, however, naturally created a great division amongst the clergy; and whilst many of the higher dignitaries adhered to the Norman interest, the great body of the priesthood were warmly attached to the Saxon cause. Amongst these the most conspicuous was the Primate Stigand, who was, in consequence, deposed by the papal legates, at the instigation of William, who, with the consent of his barons, appointed Lanfranc, an Italian, as his successor. The new archbishop, although nearly in his ninetieth year, soon displayed an extraordinary vigour and spirit in reclaiming the possessions of his cathedral, which had been seized by the laity during the late confusions. The property thus acquired he spent in erecting and repairing churches and monasteries in a superior style, and in establishing schools in different parts of the kingdom.

But the great point of ecclesiastical reformation (for such they professed to consider it) in which he and the Conqueror were engaged, was the substitution of a foreign for a native clergy, and the bringing the church into a complete uniformity with the civil government. In many cases the crime of being an Englishman, or an inability to speak French, were reckoned sufficient grounds of deposition, and even the Saxon saints shared in the ridicule which was thrown upon their priesthood. Some of the unhappy churchmen fled into Scotland, others to the forests, where they joined the wild bands of independent outlaws; whilst a few sought safety and subsistence by yielding to the will of their master, and

descending to lower stations in their sacred office. A very touching story is told by the chroniclers of the attempted deposition of the venerable Wulstan, Bishop of Winchester, whose firmness, however, insured his stay; and at the death of William he was the only Saxon bishop who retained his see.

2. In the midst of these triumphs over the liberty of the English church, the Conqueror was surprised by the imperious demand of the Pope (Gregory VII., whose original name was Hildebrand), that he should do homage, as the vassal of St. Peter, for the possession of England. This was peremptorily refused by the independent Norman, but he acknowledged the tax called Peter-pence, the payment of which had been of late discontinued, and the Pope made no further claim for the present. William added a decree that no pontiff should be owned in his dominions without his consent, and that all papal letters, before they were published, should be submitted to his inspection; also, that no decision, either of national or provincial synods, should be executed without his permission; and that the spiritual courts should neither implead nor excommunicate any tenant-in-chief until the offence had been certified to himself.

3. For some time there was no uniformity observed in public worship, the style of service frequently depending upon the caprices of the priest, till a serious riot having arisen at Glastonbury, in consequence of the compulsory adoption of a particular form, Oswald, Bishop of Salisbury, composed the famous Ritual of Sarum, the use of which spread generally throughout the realm.

4. Under Rufus and his servile minister, Flambard, the church was thrown into the utmost disorder, the most important offices being kept unfilled for years, whilst the revenues were drawn into the king's exchequer, and at last shamelessly sold to the highest bidder. It was not till four years after his accession that the king appointed Anselm to the see of Canterbury, and the moment of his installation was the signal for bitter and continued disputes. The first ground of open quarrel was found in Anselm's proposing to go to Rome for the pall, as was usual in those days; to which the

king decidedly objected; and not without some reason, there being at that time *two* popes in existence (Urban II. and Clement III.), who each laid equal claim to supreme authority. The pall was at last transmitted to England, on condition that Rufus should acknowledge the rights of Pope Urban. Anselm afterwards did go to Rome, to complain of the king's confiscations of religious property; but the wild monarch rejected the pope's message and threat of excommunication with scorn; and persisted in excluding Anselm during the remainder of his reign.* He was restored, however, by Henry I., whose defective title required the sanction of the church. Even their harmony was not of long continuance; and after some years of tedious contention, the matter was at length compromised by the pope consenting, that if investiture by ring and crozier were not insisted on by the king, bishops and abbots should be allowed to do homage for their temporalities in the same manner as the lay tenants of the crown.

5. The weakness of Stephen compelled him to grant an exemption from the royal investiture, and the right of carrying ecclesiastical causes by appeal to Rome — privileges which were by no means neglected by the ambitious servants of the papal see. But it is in the reign of Henry II. that the contest becomes of real importance, and leaves impressions behind it which are not yet effaced. The history and character of Thomas à Becket, the first Saxon archbishop after the Conquest, are too well known to require a lengthened detail in this place, and it will be sufficient to notice the constitu-

* It was at this time that the famous contest about investitures was carried on between the popes and the temporal sovereigns throughout Christendom. The question was, whether ecclesiastics, on being inducted into bishoprics and abbeys, should receive the ring and crozier by which the temporalities of the benefice were understood to be conveyed, but which were also symbols of the spiritual power, from the hands of their prince or no? i.e. in other words, whether the civil authorities were to retain any influence or control over the officials of the church? This gave rise to terrible contentions and dreadful wars, especially in Germany and Italy, and, at length, to the strange spectacle of two popes at the same time, one being nominated by the Emperor of Germany, and the other by the Romish party.

tions which were passed during the struggle at the great Council of Clarendon, in January, 1164. The particular question about which the general rights of the crown and of the spiritual estate finally became involved, was this, — whether the clergy, when accused of crimes, should be tried and punished by the ecclesiastical or the civil courts. As the ecclesiastical courts were not allowed to punish with death, but only with stripes and degradation from office, and as the

Penance of Henry II. before Becket's Shrine. (From an ancient Painting on Glass.)

clergy were supposed to entertain a natural partiality for their offending brethren, it was contended that they were improper tribunals before which to bring men who were often guilty of the grossest offences. The sixteen constitutions of Clarendon, however, went a good deal beyond this special point; for they not only decreed the entire subjection of the clergy to the king's court in civil and criminal cases, but they established their complete independence of Rome, and vested

almost all authority over them in the person of the king. Notwithstanding Becket's obstinate refusal, these decrees were assented to by the barons and prelates, and became, at least for a time, the law of the land. Henry was obliged, however, to recant them all before obtaining reconciliation with the pope in 1172, although they were not formally repealed (or rather modified) till the great council at Northampton in 1176. It was there agreed, though not without great opposition from many barons, that the clergy should only be brought before the civil courts for offences against the forest laws; and that no bishopric or abbey should be kept in the king's hands longer than a year, except under peculiar circumstances. This arrangement subsisted throughout the remainder of this period.

6. During the reign of Richard I. the crusades engrossed both clergy and laity in England, as in all Europe; but time was found by Pope Innocent III. to direct a threatening bull to the king and the Archbishop of Canterbury, commanding both, in an imperial strain, to lay aside certain proceedings, which was submitted to without a murmur by the hero of the lion heart. A fresh quarrel arose under John, about an appointment to the see of Canterbury. The monks of Canterbury had elected to that office Reginald, their sub-prior; but afterwards, under apprehension of the king's displeasure, had removed him, and elected the king's favourite, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich. The pope decided that Reginald's appointment had never been legally annulled, and took the nomination into his own hands, ordering them to receive as their archbishop Stephen Langton, who happened to be then at Rome. John's impotent resistance to this nomination, the terrible interdict and excommunication which ensued, and the final humiliation of the crown of England at the feet of the papal legate, are matters familiarly known to every reader of English history.*

* A curious tale is told by old Matthew Paris, that John, in his hour of danger, actually solicited aid against the Pope and the King of France from the Mohammedans of Spain. To make the story more complete, a Christian priest was joined to this embassy to an infidel soldan. The

7. The internal constitution of the Church of England was but little changed by the Conquest. Two new sees (Ely and Carlisle) were added to the fifteen Saxon bishopries, and two new orders of monks (the Cistercians and Carthusians) were

Carthusian. Benedictine. Cistercian

introduced.* The celibacy of the clergy was rigidly enforced by Lanfranc and his successors, and gradually became the prevailing practice. Pilgrimages continued much in favour, especially to the shrine of Becket after his murder, as well as to Rome, Loretto, and the Holy Land. Even princes and

prudent emir, however, privately questioned the ecclesiastic as to the character of his master, and being informed that he was a tyrant universally hated by his subjects, declined to give him any assistance.

* The only order of monks in England before the Conquest, was that of the Benedictines, which was instituted early in the 6th century, and first generally established in this country by Dunstan. In 1128 the Cistercians came in, who were first established at Citeaux, in Burgundy, A.D. 1098, and soon ranked a considerable number of devotees in England and Scotland. The Carthusians (founded at Chartreux, in 1080,) appeared in England in 1180; but probably from the great strictness of their rule never became numerous.

These may both, however, be considered as branches of the Benedictines. The general habit of these orders consisted of an under garment of white with a long loose black gown over it, and in some cases a cloak of white in church.

prelates abandoned their offices, to put themselves at the head of those vast armies of palmers which afterwards sprung up into battalions of armed crusaders.*

Four of the crusades belong to the present period, of which the first set out in 1097, the second in 1147, the third (in which Richard I. so distinguished himself) in 1189, and the fourth in 1203. One of their most remarkable results in connection with the church was the establishment of the religious orders of knighthood, of which the two earliest and most distinguished were the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, whose chief abode was at Clerkenwell, and the Knights Templars, who have left their name to our ancient seat of law.

8. The first dawn of opposition to the received *doctrines* of the day appeared in 1166, when a synod was held at Oxford, in presence of the king, for the trial of certain German strangers, accused of heresy. They were said to have spoken impiously of the Eucharist, baptism, and marriage, but they refused to enter into any discussion upon their peculiar views. The canons of the Council of Tours against the Albigenses (to whose sect the wanderers probably belonged) furnished a precedent for the punishment of these unfortunates, and they were accordingly branded in the forehead, publicly whipped, and expelled from Oxford. Half naked, in the depth of winter, and driven by an arbitrary authority from every place of shelter, these poor enthusiasts, who had gone to their punishment in all the triumph of religious fervour, wandered about, dejected and heartbroken, amongst the fields and lanes till they miserably died.

* The name palmer was given from the branches of palm which they bore in their hands as the emblem of victory. They also wore cockle or scallop shells in their hats in token of having crossed the seas.

CHAPTER III.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

1. IT is not improbable (as already mentioned) that learning may have begun to revive in England after the accession of Canute, early in the 11th century: but still there is every reason to believe that it was at but a low pitch at the time of the Conquest. The general ignorance of the Saxon priesthood no doubt favoured very materially William's plans for the substitution of a foreign clergy; and certainly no names eminent as scholars are recorded at that period in the annals of the Saxon church. The Conquest, however, restored to England the better preserved learning of the Continent, which yet had mainly flowed from the great schools of Alcuin and Erigena, the two illustrious Irishmen of the last period.

A new source of intellectual improvement had now also opened in the literature of the East, communicated throughout Europe by the brilliant and successful Arabs of Spain. At this time Saracenic Spain was the resort of students from every country, and many of the Greek authors were first made known to the Western world by Latin translations from Arabic versions.* It does not fully appear that this new literature had made its way to England before the Conquest, but it could hardly avoid following at once in its train. The Conqueror himself was a most liberal patron of letters, and

* The Greek writings which the Arabs studied with most eagerness were such as related to metaphysics, mathematics, medicine, chemistry, botany, and other departments of physical knowledge. The number of volumes collected in the Saracen libraries was prodigious. In Egypt there were 100,000 MSS., and in Cordova 600,000, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound. Totally extinct as the Arab power has long been in Europe, it lasted with little diminution for 500 years, a period long enough for the accumulation of an immense mass of literary treasures.

took great care to fill the most important offices with men of distinguished learning. Most of his successors also followed his example, having themselves for the most part received a polite education. Besides Henry I., surnamed Beauclerc, from his attainments, Henry II., and his sons, Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard, were all carefully instructed in the usual acquirements of the day.

2. Learning was still, however, chiefly in the hands of the clergy, to whom it was considered to belong as a peculiar possession, and even the nobility made but small pretensions to any thing like scholarship. Yet schools and other seminaries were largely extended in this age, and also elevated considerably in their character. By the Third General Council of Lateran (A. D. 1179) it was ordered that in every cathedral a head-teacher or Scholastic (as he was called) should be appointed, who, besides keeping a school of his own, should have authority over all the other schools in the diocese, and the sole right of granting licenses, without which no one should be entitled to teach. This office had been formerly held by the bishops themselves, but as might be expected from the wide range of their other duties, with little effect, whilst after this canon it was frequently filled by the most learned persons of the time. It would appear also that some of the English schools had a broader purpose than the mere education of future ecclesiastics, and were intended for the benefit of the community at large.

3. In the twelfth century may be placed the institution of universities proper, as we now understand the term, though doubtless many of these establishments had existed long before in the form of schools or *studia*.* Even Oxford does not appear to have been recognised in this sense till the reign of Richard I., and Cambridge throughout the twelfth century was little more than a very distinguished school, without any incorporation or public establishment whatever. Many eminent Englishmen still resorted to foreign schools,

* The oldest university in Europe is that of Bologna. The university of Paris ranks about the same with that of Oxford.

of which the University of Paris was decidedly the chief. So many of our countrymen were constantly to be found at this great seminary that they formed one of the four *nations* into which its students were divided, and several of its most conspicuous teachers were of the English race. Among these may be particularly mentioned Robert of Melun and Robert White, who afterwards lectured with great success at Oxford; also Nicholas Breakspear, who afterwards became Pope under the title of Adrian IV., being the only Englishman who ever enjoyed that distinction; and John of Salisbury, who has left us a particular account of the modes of study, and of the entire learning of the age.

4. From this statement it appears that those branches of literary and scientific knowledge which were specially entitled as the Arts, were still divided into the two great classes, of which some notice has already been given; the first or more elementary of which, comprehending grammar, rhetoric and logic, was called the Trivium. The second, comprising music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the Quadrivium. The whole seven used to be thus enumerated in a Latin hexameter: —

Lingua, Tropus, Ratio, Numerus, Tonus, Angulus, Astra.

or, with definitions subjoined, in the two following lines: —

Gram. loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet, *Rhet.* verba colorat,
Mus. canit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo.* ponderat, *Ast.* colit astra.

This old arrangement had now, however, come to be considered as too limited, and various new studies had been added to the primitive seven in order to complete a liberal education.

Theology, in particular, was now first ranked as a distinct science, and logic and metaphysics were extensively introduced into the discussion of religious questions. The system of Aristotle was the great source from which all modes of argument were drawn, and the scholastic theology rose into shape and order in the celebrated Books of Sentences

of Peter Lombard.* Logic, indeed, occupied an extravagantly large place in the studies of the young churchman, and it would appear that some even devoted the entire twelve years, usually given to the general course, to that branch alone. This exclusive attachment operated fatally upon all politer literature, which it drove out with contempt to the makers of songs and the despised laity.

5. Classical knowledge was almost entirely confined to Latin, and even some of the best Roman authors were as yet unknown. Some few continental scholars, however, and perhaps, some in England, were acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and probably other Oriental languages. The Jews, indeed, had schools in many parts of England, which appear to have been attended by Christian scholars, and where Hebrew, Arabic, and the Arabian sciences were constantly taught.

It is uncertain whether the Arabic numerals were yet known in Europe, and they undoubtedly were not in general use. Mathematics were but little studied, or chiefly for the purpose of cultivating astrology. "Mathematicians," says Peter of Blois, "are those who, from the position of the stars, the aspect of the firmament, and the motions of the planets, discover things that are to come." The genuine science of astronomy was not, however, wholly neglected. Ingulphus gives us a curious description of a nadir or planetary system which was burnt with the abbey of Croyland in 1091, and Latin translations existed of several astronomical works.†

* In this age lived St. Bernard, the last of the Fathers, as they are called in opposition to the Schoolmen, who introduced the systematising spirit of philosophy into all theological studies. John of Salisbury accuses the dialecticians of wasting their time on the most ridiculous puzzles; such as, Whether a person who bought the whole cloak also bought the cowl? or, Whether, when a hog was taken to market with a rope tied about its neck and held at the other end by a man, the hog was really taken to market by the man or by the rope? These were gravely declared to be questions which could not be solved, the arguments on both sides being exactly equal!

† "We then lost," says Ingulphus, "a most beautiful and precious table, fabricated of different kinds of metals, according to the variety of

6. Medicine was principally studied at Salerno and Paris, but was confined to the precepts of Hippocrates and Galen, with some knowledge of botany and chemistry; for anatomy could hardly be known with accuracy whilst the dissection of the human body was not practised. Law was eagerly studied, especially the canon law, of which the best systematic compilation is to be found in the Decretum of Gratian, published in 1151. The civil law also first began to be regularly taught after the reported discovery of a perfect copy of Justinian's Pandects at Amalphi in Italy, A. D. 1137. It was at first violently opposed by the practitioners of the common law; but being favoured by the Church, and at length by the government, it triumphed over all their efforts.

7. Great difficulties were still encountered in the pursuit of learning from the scarcity of books, but by no means to the same extent as in the last period. In every great abbey there was a room called the scriptorium, where many writers were constantly engaged in transcribing service-books and MSS. for the library. Books were also bound and illuminated in these writing-rooms, for the support of which estates were often granted by the encouragers of learning. Parchment, unfortunately, was not always to be had in sufficient abundance, and paper made of linen rags does not appear to have been known till about the middle of the 13th century.*

8. Although the notion that William I. deliberately planned the abolition of the Saxon language does not rest upon any competent authority, yet the substitution of French for English, to a great extent, must naturally have followed the Norman Conquest. French, indeed, had been the fashionable language of the court in the time of Edward the Con-

the stars and heavenly signs. Saturn was of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, the Sun of latten, Mercury of amber, Venus of tin, the Moon of silver. The eyes were charmed as well as the mind instructed by beholding the colure circles, with the zodiac and all its signs, formed with wonderful art of metals and precious stones, according to their several natures, forms, figures, and colours. It was the most admired and celebrated nadir in all England."

* Paper made of cotton was, however, in common use in the 12th century.

fessor; and the swarms of Norman warriors and churchmen whom the Conquest introduced must have spread it still more widely over the kingdom. The Anglo-Saxon, however, still continued the tongue of the great mass of the people; and for nearly a century afterwards it appears (though with considerable modifications) to have preserved its original character.* From about the middle of the 12th century it is generally thought to have been assuming the form which finally resulted in our present English; but as we have no authentic specimens of the language taken from the latter part of that century, it will be better to reserve the consideration of this change till the next period.

Latin was, however, the chief language of literary composition in this age, and all scholars appear to have been as familiar with it as with their native tongues. Nay, sermons were often delivered in it even to the unlearned populace; and, as we are told, with the greater effect the less they were understood. A crowd of Latin poets are enumerated by Warton in his History of English Poetry, of whom he praises most highly a certain bard named Joseph of Exeter, who wrote an epic on the Trojan war.

Of much greater consequence are the numerous historical works which this period produced, forming altogether, per-

* The following is a specimen of our language and poetry at the latest period at which they can perhaps, with propriety, be denominated Saxon. It is taken from a volume of homilies (in the Bodleian library) supposed to have been written in the time of Henry II.: —

Ðe þeꝛ bolð ȝebẏlð	For thee is a house built
Er ðu ıbopen þepe	Ere thou wert born.
Ðe þeꝛ molð ımẏnt	For thee was a mould shapen
Er ðu oꝛ moðeꝛ come	Ere thou of (thy) mother camest.
Ðe hıt neꝛ no ıðıht	Its height is not determined,
Ne ðeꝛ ðeopneꝛ ımeten	Nor its depth measured,
Neꝛ tıl ıloceð	Nor is it closed up,
Þu lonȝ hıt ðe þepe	However long it may be,
Nu me ðe bꝛınȝeð	Until I thee bring
Weꝛ ðu beon ꝛcealt	Where thou shalt remain.
Nu me ꝛceal ðe meten	Until I shall measure thee
Ænð ðe molð ꝛeoð ða	And the sod of earth.

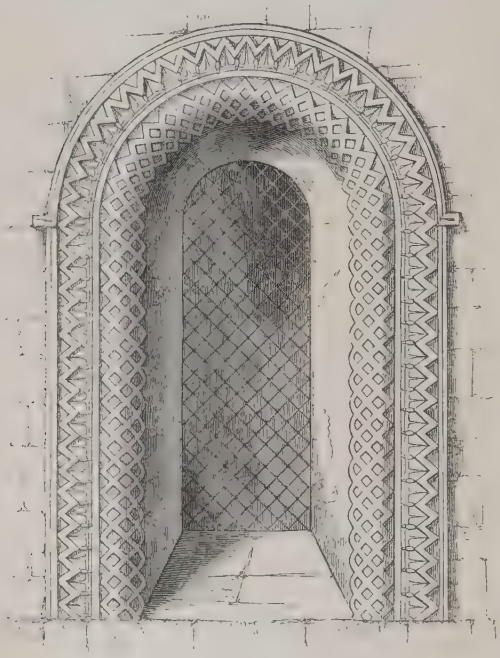
haps, a larger body of early contemporary history than is possessed by any other nation. First comes the Saxon chronicle down to the death of Stephen; then the life of William the Conqueror written by his chaplain, William of Poictiers; and the curious, though not quite genuine, history of the abbey of Croyland by Ingulphus, from 664 to 1091. The ecclesiastical history of Ordericus Vitalis brings us down to 1121, a date which also closes the valuable history of Eadmer of Canterbury. The great chronicle of William of Malmsbury also ranges from the first arrival of the Saxons to the year 1143; and in the memoirs of Simeon of Durham and the eight books of Henry of Huntingdon are to be found many valuable facts and traces of still more ancient authorities. To these might be added a long list of such names as Giraldus Cambrensis, Roger de Hoveden, &c., and the annals and registers of various religious houses.*

9. In nothing was the magnificence and taste of the Normans more strikingly displayed than in their buildings, which soon filled every corner of England, and strikingly attested the wealth and spirit of their erectors. Amongst the foremost appeared the bishops and other ecclesiastics, whose architectural skill was generally not less effective than their well bestowed riches.

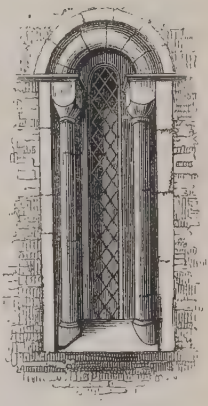
The Norman style of church architecture may be regarded as an intermediate link between the Roman and the Gothic, into the latter of which it very gradually faded away. Its principal characteristic is the semicircular arch, springing either from a single column, sometimes short and massive, sometimes tall and slender, or from a pier decorated with half columns or light shafts, in which the clustered pillar of later date evidently originated. Multangular and plain square piers are also to be met with, though not so frequently. The capitals are square and heavy, with

* The style of writing introduced by the Normans corresponded nearly with the Lombardic (which was a corruption of the Roman letters by the Lombards, who settled in Italy in the sixth century), and continued, with little variation, till the time of Edward III. It may be noticed in the specimens of Magna Charta and of Domesday Book, already given.

the lower parts rounded off and divided by shallow channels, or handsomely carved in imitation of the classical orders. The walls are generally built of grouted rubble with a thin face of cut stone, and are so excessively thick as to render the buttresses merely ornamental. The windows are mostly small



Enriched Norman Window — St. Cross, Winchester.



Early Norman Window — Ryton Church, Warwickshire

and narrow, and seldom of more than one light, except in belfry windows, which are usually divided by a shaft. Circular or wheel-shaped windows were also used in the gables.

The deep and rich doorways formed by a succession of receding arches springing from rectangular jambs and detached shafts in the nooks, and profusely ornamented, are particularly beautiful, and seem to have been carefully preserved in many churches and other edifices where no other part was allowed to remain. The semicircular stone at the head of the door-arch is generally covered with sculpture in rude bas-relief, representing a scriptural subject, a legend,

or a mere symbol, such as fish, serpents, or chimeræ. The sitting figure of our Saviour holding in his hand a book, and

Norman Doorway — Queenington Church, Gloucestershire.

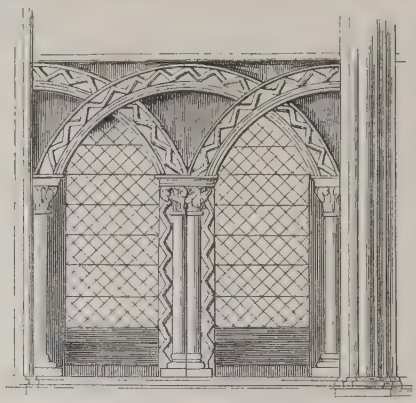
with right hand uplifted, circumscribed by the mystical vesica piscis, appears over several Norman doorways.

The mouldings are few and simple, and apparently of Roman origin, but the details are so extremely varied that an aspect of great richness is frequently produced. The chevron or zigzag is the most remarkable, which remained even after every other trace of the style had almost disappeared. The plainness of the exterior walls is often broken by a series of small columns and arches, rising in tiers one above another.

The Latin cross was now the established form for the larger churches, terminating at the east end in a semicircular apsis. The interior was divided into three stories, the lower arches, separating the nave from the aisles; the triforium, or gallery, composed of smaller arches; and the clerestory above all, with arches lesser still. The roofs are sometimes

vaulted and sometimes left open to the timbers; and generally they were not of a very acute pitch. The intersection of the cross supports a tower commonly very low and massive; and two other towers are often found at the west end. The smaller parish churches consisted of a nave and chancel, with a low tower commonly at the west end, but sometimes at the chancel arch, which latter was always richly decorated.

10. A very important change took place in the Norman style during the latter part of the 12th century (if not at an earlier period) which gradually led to the adoption (in the next century) of the pointed style and the general disuse of the semicircular arch. It is denoted by the intersection of the semicircular and the occasional use of the pointed arches, and a tendency to abandon the peculiarities of Norman

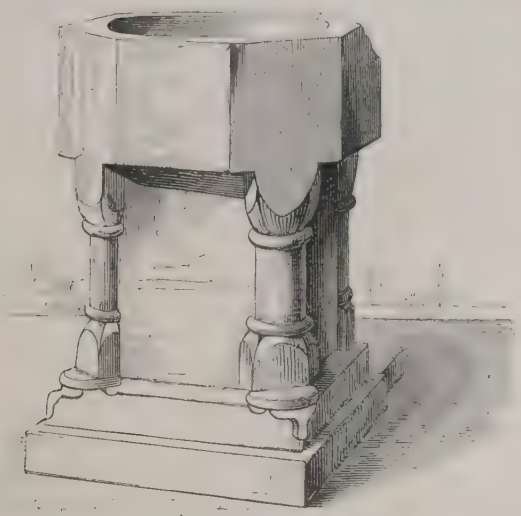


Intersecting Semi-Norman Arches — St. Cross, Winchester.

ornament.* It may be added that in some particulars there is a marked difference between the Anglo-Norman style and

* The precise origin of the pointed arch has been much contested, and is yet by no means a settled point. It might very naturally and easily have been derived either from the intersections of the semicircular arches or of the vaulting groins of Norman roofs; but some suppose it to have been taken from the mystical figure of a pointed oval shape called the vesica piscis, and others ascribe it to an Oriental model. The vesica piscis, it may be added, is supposed to have taken its rise in the word ἰχθυς, which contains the initials of our Saviour's name and titles.

that of the Continent at the same period, the English churches being built in a much more decorative manner,



Norman Font — Drayton Church, Norfolk.

especially about the doorways, whilst the foreign edifices approach in their details more nearly to the classical forms. Possibly the native Anglo-Saxon workmen were extensively employed upon these structures in England, and introduced wherever they could the decorative style which their own talent or practice naturally suggested.

11. The castles of the Norman barons were strictly fortresses, in which every thing was sacrificed to security, and possessed, as we may imagine, few of the comforts and conveniences of more peaceful ages. They occupied in general a considerable space of ground, and consisted of three great divisions; the lower ballium (whence our word bailey) or court, the upper court, and the keep. The whole circuit was defended by a lofty and strong wall, strengthened at intervals by towers, surrounded by a ditch or moat, and protected by a pierced parapet for the discharge of missiles. The outer entrance was guarded by the barbican or advanced gateway, and the archway, besides its heavy gates, was crossed by the portcullis, which could be instantly dropped on any emer-

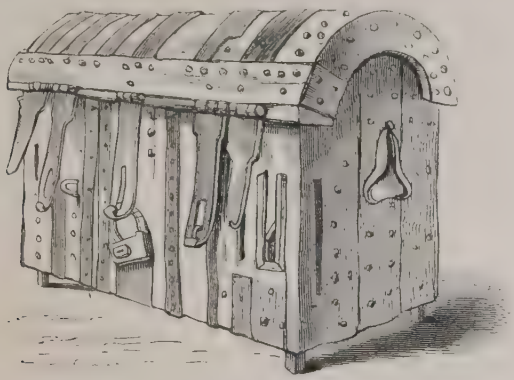
gency; the crown of the arch also was pierced with holes, through which melted lead and pitch might be poured upon any

Norman Keep — Newcastle-on-Tyne.

assailants who had won the gate. A second rampart separated the two courts, in the upper of which were placed the dwelling houses and the massive keep or donjon. This was the citadel of the whole, and the residence of its baronial master. It generally contained three stories, and often four, of which the lowest was a dark vaulted basement, used either for store-rooms or for dungeons. A well was invariably sunk within the keep to supply the garrison with water in case of extremity.

The lodging rooms in the smaller keeps, notwithstanding every contrivance to make use of the thickness of the walls, were sufficiently contracted; and those of the larger differed only in size, but were neither more convenient nor less gloomy. More roomy structures might, however, be found about the walls of the court, in which even chapels were sometimes

erected, and such mansions as were not directly intended for defence were no doubt of a very different character from the stern keep of the feudal tyrant. The dimensions of Westminster Hall still show the magnificent scale of palace building attained in the days of William Rufus, although in other respects it has lost its original features. In ordinary houses timber was the principal material employed, though several stone dwellings still exist in Lincoln and elsewhere.



Ancient Chest — temp. John.

12. The art of statuary did not flourish during the Norman period, and we scarcely find any attempt at the human figure, except in low relief. Even on monuments the effigy was rarely introduced before the 12th century, and then in a very imperfect manner.

The earliest Norman monuments consist merely of a stone coffin with the lid shaped in a ridge or *en dos d'âne*. The coffins were sunk on a level with the ground, in the interments of distinguished people, so that the lid rose up over the pavement. They were frequently plain, or sculptured only with a cross, but afterwards they were raised above ground, and architectural decorations introduced. The first monarch for whom a full recumbent effigy was sculptured in England was King John.*

13. Of their progress in painting we have little beyond

* The decorations on his tomb are, however, of a much later date.

the illuminations in manuscripts to inform us; but painting and gilding were certainly used abundantly, particularly in the

Tomb of King John at Worcester.

decoration of ceilings. The MSS. are, however, remarkable for a profusion of ornament, with an excess of gold and silver, and a graceful but intricate method of illuminating capital letters, which renders it easy to recognise the writings of this period. Embroidery continued to be the chief occupation of ladies of rank.

14. The improved scale of musical notation, invented by Guido of Arezzo, had already given a new form to the science of music shortly before the commencement of this age. Great attention was now paid to church music, and the clergy frequently composed pieces for the use of their choirs. Different cathedrals had accordingly their own choral services or "uses;" as in the north the "use" of York; in South Wales, that of Hereford; in North Wales, of Bangor; and in other places, that of Sarum or of Lincoln, prevailed. The organ was the great ecclesiastical instrument. Secular music was likewise very much improved, and often furnished materials for the sacred composer.

15. The plainer arts of life continued, in many respects, the same after the Conquest. Windmills were still more extensively used in addition to the old water and hand mills; and the fabrication of armour gave a new and higher direc-

tion to the art of working in metals. Some of the works in gold and silver, brought from England, are said to have

Ordination of a Priest.*

excited the highest admiration on the Continent. The shoeing of horses with iron, however, is supposed to have been only introduced about this time. Machines were now constructed with greater ingenuity, and timber and stone bridges were built with considerable care. The art of weaving woollen cloth in great perfection was introduced by a colony of Flemings, whom Henry I. had induced to settle at Ross, in Wales. Linen was also manufactured; and, in the reign of the same monarch, the weavers and fullers had guilds or incorporations in several towns. Incorporations of artificers (which

* From a series of drawings illustrative of the life of St. Guthlac, preserved in the British Museum. They form a remarkable instance of the beauty of English design during the latter part of the 12th century.

were intended rather to afford each other mutual support than to regulate trade) were not general, however, till the next period. Dyeing was generally practised in private houses, although the Jews are said to have followed it as a public business; and the importations of woad were very extensive. In 1213 the duties paid on this dye-stuff alone amounted to nearly 600*l.*

CHAPTER IV.

NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. THE Normans were distinguished for their military propensities, and for the many improvements which they introduced into the science of war. To their good swords they owed the possession of England; and their martial spirit lost nothing by the change of clime and country.

The armour of their warriors did not differ, however, very materially from that of the Anglo-Saxons. The hauberk (probably halsberg, *a protection for the throat,*) of flat rings or small pieces of iron, sewn upon leather, seems, indeed, to have been common to all the northern nations. This has been denominated mascled armour, from the Latin macula, *mesh of a net,* from which the well-known word *mail* is also supposed to be derived. Instances of rings set up edgewise occur towards the close of the 11th century; and scale armour, resembling that of the ancients *, was also worn.

Mascled Armour. (Cotton MS.)

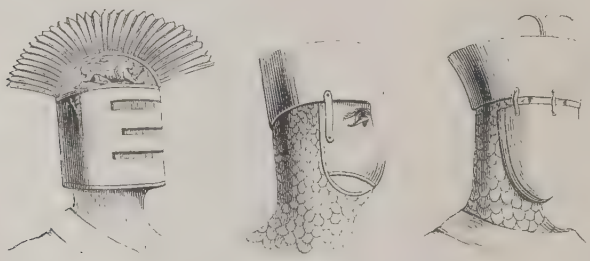
The helmet was conical, with a noseguard or nasal, to which the collar of the hauberk was occasionally looped up, so as to leave no part of the face exposed but the eyes. Cheek-pieces were afterwards added; and, under Richard I., the helmet took a cylindrical or barrel shape, flat at top, and with an oval opening for the face, which, in battle, was covered by a perforated plate or grating, called the *avantaille* or *ventaille.*

* When the overlapping plates were of a square form instead of round, this armour is called *tegulated*, of which a specimen is given in the next page.

The shield, down to the time of Henry II., was of the form called kite, or pear-shaped: in the Bayeux tapestry it is

Tegulated Armour — Seal of the Constable of Chester.

quite flat and ornamented with rude figures; but about the time of Stephen it appears of a curved shape. On the first



Helmets with Avantailles — 12th Century.

great seal of Richard I. it is considerably shortened, and bent almost into a semi-cylinder; and presents, for the first time, an undoubted armorial bearing; namely, a lion counter-rampant, or facing the sinister side of the shield.*

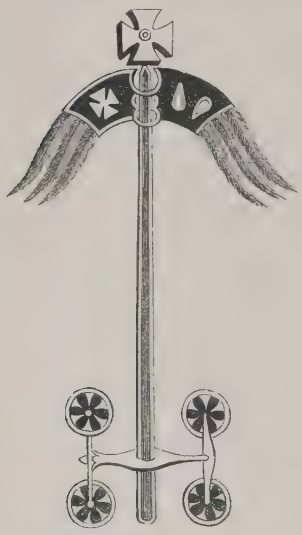
* On the second seal of Richard, struck after his return from captivity, we find the shield emblazoned with three lions passant regardant, as they have ever since been quartered in the English arms.

2. The rules of the redoubted Norman chivalry next claim our attention. The youth of noble birth was placed, whilst yet a boy, under the care of some distinguished knight, whom he was obliged to serve as a page, and by whom he was instructed in the forms of courtesy and the military exercises. The next rank was that of squire, in which he completed his knowledge of riding, tilting, hunting and hawking, and frequently of music; and, if war broke out, he followed his preceptor into actual service.

After spending seven or eight years in this capacity, if he were considered fit to receive the honour of knighthood, a most solemn and imposing ceremony took place. The candidate passed several nights in prayer and lonely watching in some church or chapel, and received with humility the sacred rites of religion. On the appointed day the church was decked with all its ornaments: the youth, accompanied by his patron, his kindred, friends, and companions, went in procession to its holy walls, with his knightly sword hanging in a scarf from the neck; the weapon was blessed by the priest at the altar, and the oaths of the highest order of chivalry administered. These were, that he would be loyal and obedient to his prince; valorously defend the church and clergy; and be the natural champion of all virtuous ladies, and especially of the orphan and the widow. Then the noble warriors or high-born ladies buckled on his spurs, clothed him in his various pieces of armour, and girded the sword to his side. The prince or noble from whom he was to receive his knighthood then advanced, and, giving him the *accolade*, or three gentle blows with the flat of a sword on the right shoulder, exclaimed, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight; be brave, hardy, and loyal!" Then the young cavalier leaped, in his sounding armour, into the saddle of his war-horse; pranced up and down the church; and, issuing forth, galloped to and fro before the spectators, brandishing his weapons in token of his strength and skill. His education was now complete; and his future rise in society depended solely on his own valour and conduct.

3. Intimately connected with the customs of knighthood and war is the science of heraldry, which has not, however, equally declined with their changes or extinction. The close armour in which each knight was wrapped up, and the complete covering of his face with the visor, rendered the adoption of some peculiar mark or cognizance absolutely necessary for his recognition in the field.

The earliest sign was probably the figure of some animal on the crest, but afterwards it was painted on the shield, or some emblematic device substituted. At first, however, this would seem to have distinguished only the individual, and not his family. The Crusades gave a new character to these symbols, for the peculiar attachment which was felt towards both the Crusaders and their devices induced their children to assume them as a mark of honour, and thus they became hereditary distinctions. From that time heraldry became a science; and the principal terms of blazon are to be found in the metrical romances of the day. Mottoes were taken at first from the war cries of the leaders, and the heraldic crest was afterwards added, as an abridgment, when the shield became overloaded with complicated figures.*



English Standard at the Battle of Northallerton, A.D 1138.

* With these family escutcheons family names had not, however, as yet come in, even amongst the members of the royal house, who were only distinguished by such epithets as the Bastard, the Red, the Lion-hearted, &c. Titles, however, were given to the chief men from their birthplace or patrimonial possession, or from some office held at court, as the Steward, the Warden, &c. The nearest approach to a family name was the assumption of the father's Christian name in addition to his own, by which a man, who had perhaps no other designation, announced his Norman descent. The only kind of surname known amongst the English at this time seems to have been some epithet descriptive of personal

4. The great military sport of the knights was the tournament, the origin of which is lost in the darkness of ages. This spectacle was absolutely forbidden by William and his immediate successors, probably from a fear of teaching the nobility their real strength; but a partial revival took place under Richard I. After his reign, however, the tournament rose in consequence, and soon came to occupy an important station in the national amusements. In the interim its place was supplied by several hardy games, such as the pel (*palus*) or post, which the armed youth attacked on foot; and the quintain, or pole and cross-bar, with a shield at one end, and a wooden sword or sand-bag at the other, which he charged with the lance on horseback.

The tournament was generally held in honour of some great event, as a coronation, a marriage, or a national victory; and heralds were despatched before its commencement to announce everywhere the place of meeting, and invite all honourable knights to partake in it. The lists were strongly paled in and entered by two gates, and round the whole enclosure scaffolds were erected for the noble ladies, princes, and judges of the conflict. The scene was also enlivened by the presence of a crowd of heralds, troubadours, and minstrels, dressed in the most gorgeous and picturesque manner. In order to prevent the intrusion of improper competitors, the shields of the proposed combatants were hung up for inspection some days previous in the neighbouring church.

Two different kinds of fighting were practised at the tournament: one was called justing, or an encounter on horseback with the spear in rest; the other was either a close hand to hand duel, or a general *mêlée*, in which the warriors, divided into two parties, hewed at each other with battle-axes, swords, and maces. The simple just was not reckoned so honourable a combat as the latter kind of engagement, (which was indeed the tournament proper,) although it

character; but the bulk of the people had only one name. When the Normans began to take second names, which usually commenced with a De, Le, or Fitz (Fils, *son*), it became a mark of low birth or illegitimacy to have but one.

lasted to a later period. In the just the great point was to bear the point of the spear at full gallop against the helmet or shield of the opponent, so as to throw him out of the saddle, or to break the spear so fairly as not to be dashed backwards by the recoil. Every knight was allowed to bring a page into the lists, to supply him at need with a sword or lance. Wounds and death were generally the result of the tournament, at the close of which the names of those who had most distinguished themselves were proclaimed by the heralds, and rewards distributed by the ladies, by whom also the successful combatants were unarmed, and placed at the highest seats in the banquet, where their praise was loudly sung by the attendant minstrels. The tournament was often denounced by the Church on account of its bloody tendency, but with little effect.

These warlike games of the nobles were imitated by the commonalty in their quintains, (which were played either on land, or water, or skating on the ice,) in their archery, javelin throwing, and sword and buckler play. Archery was especially practised with the cross-bow, which was introduced into this country by the Normans. It was forbidden to be employed in war by the second council of Lateran, and for a time laid aside, but its use was revived by Richard I., who himself perished at last from its too deadly aim.

5. William the Conqueror must have possessed a considerable navy, if we may judge by the number of the ships in which he brought over his troops, amounting, as it is said, to about 700 vessels of tolerable size, besides more than three times that number of smaller dimensions. He sent a fleet afterwards to attack Scotland, and in the time of Rufus ships (which may be entitled the first privateers) were fitted out by his English subjects to defend the Channel against his brother Robert. The Conqueror, indeed, made due provision for a naval force being kept up, by his regulations concerning the Cinque Ports (originally Hastings, Hythe, Romney, Dover and Sandwich), each of which towns was bound, upon forty days' notice, to furnish and man a certain number of

ships of war; other towns on different parts of the coast seem also to have held of the crown by the same kind of service.

The fleet which carried out Richard I. and his troops to the Holy Land was, probably, the most magnificent that had ever left the English shores, far surpassing in size, though not in number, the vessels of William or of Henry II. The galleys of Cœur de Lion carried two tiers or banks of oars, and the dromons or busses spread three large sails, each probably on a separate mast. Some were armed with that famous combustible, the Greek fire, then in general use. In the reign of John the first great naval victory was gained by the English over the first fleet that the French kings of the Capetian line had ever sent to sea. It took place at Damme, then the port of Bruges, in the year 1213, and ended in the total destruction of the French ships. This was the bright commencement of those glorious victories, the illustrious succession of which have so justly conferred upon our island the title of "Queen of the Sea."

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

1. The sudden and striking change which the Conquest produced in the condition of all classes of the people was at first unfavourable both to foreign trade and national industry, which had hitherto flourished to a very considerable extent. Henry I., indeed, gave some stimulus to exertion by settling the laborious and skilful Flemings in Wales; but this favour was probably granted more on account of their warlike than their commercial habits. The Jews, who came over in great numbers after the Conquest, afforded a greater impulse to trade, to which they were entirely devoted. Their possession of capital ensured them sufficient protection from the ruling powers, notwithstanding occasional acts of violence or oppression; and under ordinary circumstances it does not seem that a Jew found any peculiar difficulties in recovering money due. Their wealth enabled them to obtain charters from the crown, for one of which they are recorded to have paid to King John no less a sum than 4000 marks.

Some trade was carried on with the East during this period, of which the most important result was the knowledge of the art of rearing and managing the silkworm. This valuable insect was first brought from Greece in 1146, by Roger, King of Sicily, and from about this time we find silks becoming much more abundant in England.

2. But it was under the long and successful reign of Henry II. that English commerce began to recover from its depression, and to rise to a station which it had never known since the departure of the Romans. William Fitz Stephen says, that no city in the world now sent out its wealth and merchandise to so great a distance as the city of London, and he enumerates among its imports gold, spices, and frankincense from Arabia, precious stones from Egypt, purple cloths

from India, palm-oil from Bagdad, furs and ermines from Norway and Russia, arms from Scythia, and wines from France; woad for dyeing was also introduced, and occasionally corn, which was at other times, however, an article of export. Its commercial pre-eminence now established London as the undoubted capital of England, an honour which it had previously shared with Winchester, the ancient seat of the West Saxon kings, and the treasury of the early Norman monarchs. Exeter was also a magnificent city, filled with opulent citizens, and Bristol is mentioned as having a great trade with Ireland, Norway, and other countries. Gloucester and Winchester are celebrated for wines made of native *grapes*, whilst for foreign wines, Chester was one of the chief ports. Dunwich in Suffolk, Norwich, Lynn, Grimsby, York, Whitby, Hartlepool, and Berwick are also mentioned as towns of trade, and Lincoln was peculiarly favoured by a canal of seven miles long, cut by Henry I. from the Trent to the Witham, which enabled foreign vessels to come close up to the city.

3. The exports from these various ports consisted of flesh and fish, especially herrings and oysters, and "most precious wool." Lead and tin were also sent abroad in great quantities, and, perhaps, hides, skins, and woollen cloths. As these exports seem to have far exceeded in amount the imports, the difference was, no doubt, made up to this country in money or bullion. So great, indeed, was the quantity of silver in the kingdom, that it could afford to raise 70,000 marks (equal in weight to nearly 100,000*l.* of our money) for the ransom of Richard I., though certainly not without several collections and a good deal of distress. That monarch, on his return from the East, passed several laws for the regulation of trade, one of which was a prohibition against the exportation of corn, "that England," as it stated, "might not suffer from the want of its own abundance," and which was very rigorously executed in at least one remarkable instance.*

* Some vessels having been seized in the port of Valery, laden with English corn for the King of France, Richard burned both the vessels and the town, hanged the seamen, and also put to death some monks, who

4. From the commencement of his reign John appears to have favoured the interests of the traders, and to have sought their support against the power of the nobility and clergy. A considerable number of towns are now mentioned as paying the quinzième (a species of tallage levied on merchants), and even this list is probably very incomplete. In this reign we find the first mention of what may be called letters of credit, which speedily assumed the form of bills of exchange, and were generally adopted in foreign commerce.* The Flemings were the chief foreign traders that then resorted to this country, and after them the French.

Freedom of commerce was sought to be secured by the 41st clause of Magna Charta, which commanded the safety of all merchants in entering, leaving, or remaining in England, except in time of war, when subjects of the enemy should be detained, (but without injury to their persons or property,) until it should be known how the English merchants were treated in their country.

5. The only coined money of this period, so far as is certainly known, was the silver penny, which was then, as now, the twelfth part of a shilling, and the shilling, again, the twentieth part of a pound. The pound, however, was still a full pound of silver according to the old standard of 5400 grains. As this was equal to 2*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* of our money, the shilling would be 2*s.* $9\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, and the penny would contain a little more silver than might now be purchased for $2\frac{3}{4}$*d.* Both pound and shilling, however, were only money of account; and no coins of lower value than the silver penny have as yet been discovered, although

Silver Penny of William I.

had been unfortunately engaged in the transaction. He then divided the corn among the poor.

* It is curious that at this time, although no Christian was allowed to take interest even at the lowest rate upon money lent, the Jews were put under no restriction whatever upon this point; but it may be accounted for by the ease with which the crown squeezed its frequent impositions from that people, and which induced it to tolerate so readily their monopoly of money lending.

halfpence and farthings (formed by cutting the pennies) are mentioned by writers of the time. The coins, indeed, of the earlier Norman kings are of great rarity; and in Stephen's time all the bishops and greater barons are said to have had mints of their own, from which very debased money was often issued. Henry II., however, put down this bad money, and, in the year 1180, called in all the old coins then in circulation.

The value of money during this period may be imperfectly estimated from the prices of various articles which we occasionally find noted: thus the price of labour appears to have varied from about three farthings to a penny a day, with victuals. The prices of grain varied excessively, even at different periods of the same year. Wheat, perhaps, generally averaged 4*s.* the quarter, though in scarce years it sometimes rose to a pound. In 1185, sheep were rated at about $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ each; hogs at 1*s.*; cows at about 4*s.* 6*d.*; and breeding mares at less than 3*s.* Yet, in 1205, ten capital horses were rated at 20*l.* each, or nearly 60*l.* of our present money. The expense of building two arches of London Bridge in 1140, was 25*l.*

6. The land after the Conquest still continued to be held in large estates, the great proprietors residing in the midst of their possessions, and reserving for their own use a portion of their demesne, which was cultivated by their own farm servants. The classes of field labourers which we find enumerated in Domesday Book are ploughmen, shepherds, neatherds, cowherds, goatherds, swineherds, and bee-keepers. The use of manures was carried to a greater extent than before, chalk being applied as well as the ancient marl; but the system of agriculture was still sadly imperfect. The monks continued to be the greatest improvers of the land, though some laymen honourably sought to divide the praise, especially in Cambridgeshire and Lincoln, where the draining of the fens was already commenced with success.

Corn must have been occasionally abundant, for licences for its exportation were not unfrequently granted during this period; but these years of plenty were often counter-

balanced by terrible scarcities, the result, however, of unfavourable seasons and warlike devastations rather than of defective husbandry. Gardens, orchards, and vineyards are mentioned in the great survey, and the wine of Gloucester is said by William of Malmsbury to have been very little inferior to the wines of France. The extensive woods and bogs still supplied the greater quantity of fuel, although coal was now certainly consumed to a small extent.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

1. THE style of household furniture does not appear to have been much improved by the introduction of Norman customs. The same domestic articles and the same mode of serving food prevail in the Bayeux tapestry as in the Saxon illuminations, and the principal difference is that some of the chairs of state and other seats appear to be more elaborately carved and ornamented. In the reign of King John, indeed, we find mention made of gold and silver salt-cellars, and the Saxon hangings of needle-work and embroidery seem to have been partially superseded by the fashion of painting the walls or wainscot, but still with the same subjects as before. Beds were also handsomely fitted up, at least for the rich, and provided with the luxury of linen sheets.

2. So general had been the imitation of Norman fashions during the reign of Edward the Confessor, that at the time of the Conquest there was little variety in dress or manners to introduce, except, perhaps, the foreign custom of shaving the upper lip and the back of the head. The Saxons continued, however, for some time to be distinguished by their flowing locks and the rich embroidery of their dresses.

The general habit of the Normans consisted of a tunic, a cloak, long tight hose, and leg bandages, with shoes or short boots. Caps were worn in great variety, but a high cap or flat bonnet were most preferred. In female costume the change was more in name than in garment. Thus the gunna or *gown* became the *robe,* and the veil or head-rail the *couvrechef* or kerchief. The hair occasionally appears long and plaited, like that of the modern Swiss. During the reigns of Rufus and Henry I. some most extravagant fashions made their appearance: the sleeves of the tunics were long enough

to cover and hang considerably below the hand; peaked-toed boots of the most absurd shapes were worn, and the mantles and tunics were worn much longer and fuller, and the former lined with the most expensive furs.

The hair, too, from its former cropped condition, was now suffered to grow immoderately long, a practice which was denounced both by individual preachers and by councils of the Church.* Those who were not fortunate enough to be favoured by nature in this respect, made it up by enormous wigs of false hair. Nor were these fancies confined to the male costume. The sleeves of the ladies' robes, and their

Norman Ladies. (From an old Psalter.)

veils, were knotted up to prevent their trailing on the ground; and a rich garment, called the surcote, was worn, which pro-

* Amongst others, Serlo d'Abon, preaching before Henry I. on Easter day, 1105, against the sinfulness of beards and long hair, coolly drew a huge pair of scissors from his pocket after the sermon, and taking advantage of the effect which it had produced, went from seat to seat mercilessly cropping the king and the whole congregation. The heads of the people were not liberated from these obtrusive denunciations till the reign of King John, when the superior powers no longer thought proper to interfere in such matters.

voked many legislative enactments to put it down. With the reign of Henry II., however, a more graceful and becoming, though equally splendid, style of dress, seems to have made its appearance. Full flowing robes, of a moderate length, girded with a rich waistbelt, short mantles fastened by clasps on the breast or shoulders, long hose, shoes or boots, caps of various forms, and richly jewelled gloves, set off the figures of this monarch and his nobles to great advantage. Nor was this improvement confined to the men, for the ladies also of the time discarded their fanciful knots and skirts, and adopted a close and elegant costume, somewhat resembling that of the convent.

Tomb of Berengaria, Queen of Richard I., at Fontevraud.

3. A prevailing passion of the Norman chiefs was for numerous and splendid retinues, not, however, very well ordered, or always very discreet. Perhaps such powerful guards as those of William Longchamp, whose train even in time of peace consisted of 1000 horse, were required by the disturbed state of the country, and the reckless avarice of many a baronial robber, whose castles the wealthy traveller might be obliged to pass on his way. Grandeur and discomfort were, however, the ordinary attendants of the Norman noble. Even the stately palace had no better carpeting than a litter of straw or rushes, and the royal banquet could not furnish a common table-cloth or plain steel fork. Yet their style of living was more delicate than that of the coarse Saxons, whilst it far exceeded in the variety and costliness of its materials. The art of cookery was held in great estimation, and several estates were granted on the tenure of dressing some particular dainty for the royal palate. The boar's head was regarded as a truly regal dish, and as it came into the hall, musicians went before it sounding on their trumpets. The peacock, likewise, was only

served up at solemn chivalric banquets; but the crane, though highly valued, formed part of their common meals. The drinks used by the rich of both nations were spiced wines and cordial mixtures, such as hippocras, pigment, morat, and mead, whilst the poor were content with humbler cider, perry, and ale.

4. The meals of the Normans, and their appropriate seasons, are laid down in the following triplet:

"Lever a cinque, diner a neuf,
Souper a cinque, coucher a neuf,
Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf."

"To rise at five, to dine at nine,
To sup at five, to bed at nine,
Makes a man live to ninety-nine."

In connexion with this custom of retiring to rest at nine o'clock, it has been commonly supposed that, by an order of the Conqueror, all persons were obliged to put out their fires and lights on ringing of the curfew bell (couvre feu, *cover-fire*), which took place at sunset in summer, and about eight or nine o'clock in winter. But the curfew (as a precaution against fire) appears to have prevailed long before, not only in England but in most of the countries of Europe, and was continued in this country as a necessary regulation till after the beginning of the 16th century.

5. The chase was the favourite pastime of the Normans, in which their ladies frequently joined, along with the prelates and clergy. These, however, generally preferred the gentler exercise of hawking, in which they excelled. The hawk was carried on the wrist, which was protected by a thick glove. Its head was covered with a hood, its feet secured to the wrists by straps called jesses, and to its legs were fastened small bells, toned according to the musical scale. Horse-racing was also practised, but in a petty way. The London races were held in Smithfield. Cock-fighting was confined to children, who regularly brought their cocks to school of a Shrove Tuesday*,

* In some old grammar schools cockpence are still paid to the master as a perquisite upon Shrove Tuesday.

whilst bear, bull, and horse-baiting were the amusements of their sires.

Of in-door gratifications, the juggler and buffoon afforded the greatest supply; but dramatic representations, of a kind so rude and gross as to be condemned by the Church, were not wanting also. These the clergy attempted to supersede by the introduction of religious plays; and thus originated the Miracles and Mysteries, which were based upon scriptural or ecclesiastical incidents, and performed by the scholars of the Church.

Gambling was but too common, and the more intellectual game of chess is commonly supposed to have been imported from the East by the crusaders, though some think that it was known to the Anglo-Saxons before the Conquest. Tumbling and balancing were not without their admirers;

Sword Dance. (Royal MS.)

and in these feats not only human beings, but apes, bears, and horses were taught to take a part. Bowls, nine-pins, and the stick-and-snuffers of our modern fair, were also common amusements. Most of the tricks played by the peasantry on the eve of All-hallows, and so vividly described by Burns, are probably much older than the Norman or even the Saxon Conquest. The well-known game of bob-apple is also found portrayed, with great spirit, in a MS. of the present period.

6. The burial of the dead displayed some solemn forms

which yet remain amongst us. The nearest relative, as in the earliest ages of antiquity, closed the eyes of the corpse. The face was then covered with a linen cloth, and the body washed, anointed, and laid out for burial. A suit of the deceased's ordinary apparel served for a shroud. The body was carried to the grave on the shoulders of the mourners, or if the distance was great, on a sledge or car, and commonly laid in the tomb without a coffin. Coffins, indeed, were not in general use till the reign of Henry III., and for some time before that date they seem to have been confined to people of high rank. Even the Conqueror was buried without a coffin. A rude attempt was made to embalm the body of Henry I., and Richard I. was buried by piecemeal, in Carlisle, Rouen, and Fontevraud.

Kings, princes, and prelates, were entombed with the insignia of their rank beside them. But those who died under excommunication were cast out like unhallowed things, or hastily buried in silence and secresy by some pitying friend.

BOOK IV.

EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD. A. D. 1216—1483.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. THE history of this period is marked by features sufficiently striking — the complete amalgamation of the Saxon and Norman races, the decline of arbitrary royalty, the rise of the commonalty and of representative government, and the important alterations in our judicial system, are circumstances deserving of the closest and most careful attention. Before its termination, indeed, the constitution imposed upon the country at the Conquest had in a great measure passed away, and a new order of things had arisen, in which may be distinctly traced at least the rude outline of our present institutions. The government was now no longer either that of the king alone, as it may be said to have been under the Conqueror and his sons, or of the king and barons, as it afterwards became — but (at least in profession and in design) from the time that Edward I. came to the throne, a mixed government of king, lords, and commons, such as it has remained to this day.

2. In order to trace these great changes with distinctness, we must first examine into the formation and influence of the Houses of Parliament.* In the Norman times, as has been observed, the Commune Concilium or Great Council of the Realm, was composed only of the tenants in chief, amongst whom were reckoned the bishops and mitred abbots, who sat

* Matthew Paris gives the name of parliament (from parler, *to talk*) to the great council of the barons, for the first time in 1246. It seems anciently to have been used for any kind of conference.

either in right of their temporal baronies, or, as some say, simply on the ground of their ecclesiastical position as the representatives of religion (questions concerning which were often debated in those mixed assemblies), and also as being more learned and enlightened councillors than the lay nobles, whom they often rivalled, moreover, in the extent of their possessions. The lay portion of the council consisted merely of the earls and barons holding immediately under the king.* Changes, however, were gradually introduced; and in the year 1265 (49 Hen. III.), the great principle of *Representation of the People* was proclaimed by the king's writ issued to all the sheriffs of the kingdom, directing them to return two knights for each county, and two citizens or burgesses

Parliament assembled for the Deposition of Richard II. (Harleian MS.)

for every city or borough. By whom the knights were at first elected, however, whether by the king's tenants only, or by all freeholders without distinction, is a disputed point.

* The mode of creating barons varied from the reign of Henry III. Formerly it was only by tenure, then it might be by writ, (that is, by the king's summons to parliament), or by statute, and finally by letters patent, as at present, which last form was introduced by Richard II. in 1387. The spiritual peers outnumbered the temporal in the House of Lords, till the time of the Reformation.

Nor did the burgesses at first take any important station in the national council, but were summoned mainly for the purpose of granting money when required by the state.*

It has been generally supposed that at the time of their first admission, the houses of parliament were not divided as they are now; but it appears more likely that, although they may have sat in the same chamber for some time, yet the commons were always distinct from the lords, presented separate petitions, and devoted themselves to their especial business, the redress of grievances, and the supply of the necessities of the crown. The House of Lords thus came to consist of the greater barons only, and the lesser barons were held to be commoners, as their representatives, the great body of the landed gentry, are at this day.

3. The influence of such a body as this could not long be unfelt; and accordingly we find in the reign of Edward I. a most important statute passed (de Tallagio non concedendo), which declares that no tallage or aid should be imposed or levied by the king or his heirs without the will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the land. It strictly limits also the old exactions of the king's purveyors, by the consent of the owner of the articles required, and adds a general declaration in favour of the liberties of the subject. By other statutes of the same king, it is enacted that elections shall not be influenced by force of arms, malice, or menacing of any man. The royal prerogative† had, indeed, declined considerably

* In the first parliament of which we have any very clear account (that held by Edward I. in his twenty-third year), there were present 200 citizens and burgesses. Under Edward III. and his immediate successors, about 90 places, on an average, returned members, making 180 of this class of representatives: with whom also sat 74 knights of the shire.

† The word prerogative (from præ and rogo, *to ask before*) signifies something that is demanded in preference to all others; and hence it has been applied to those rights and capacities which the king alone enjoys. The line of limitation, however, was very indistinctly marked down to a late period of English history, all discussion of the question being interdicted, not only to the people at large, but even to the parliament.

Blackstone divides prerogatives into direct and incidental. The for-

from Henry II. to Edward I., and sank still lower in the feeble hands of Edward II. Nor was the fall recovered even under the vigorous rule of Edward III., as is testified by the continued statutes concerning purveyance and other matters, the numerous royal confirmations of the supreme authority of the law, and ordinances for the frequent summoning of parliament.

Towards the latter end of this reign the commons first begin to appear as prosecutors, and amongst other petitions

The King with his Privy Council. (Harl. MS.)

to exhibit accusations for crimes and misdemeanours against offenders who were thought to be out of the ordinary reach of law. In these prosecutions, the king and lords were considered as judges, and thus began prosecution by impeachment of the commons. The decline of the courts of the Steward and Marshal, which formerly, under the arbi-

mer are substantial parts of the character of sovereignty, as the right of sending ambassadors, creating peers, and making war or peace. The latter he describes as only exceptions, in favour of the crown, to those general rules that are established for the rest of the community, such as that no costs shall be recovered against the king, that he can never be a joint-tenant, and that a debt to him shall be considered before one due to any of his subjects.

trary rule of the sovereign, exercised such immense sway, shows also the gradual rise of an independent power in the country, and the boldness with which the *law* was now set up against the real or supposed pleasure of the king. A great portion of the original power of the steward's court had in fact passed over to the court of King's Bench.

Under Richard II. the influence of the commons increased to a still greater extent, and they even dared to impeach (and with success) the lord chancellor, in opposition to the declared will of the king, and obtained a commission for the purpose of reforming acknowledged abuses. Yet this weak monarch upon one occasion foiled both lords and commons, and obtained a parliament completely subservient to his wishes. The result, however, was fatal to himself, and added, no doubt, to the ease with which Henry IV. seized upon the throne.

4. At the accession of Henry IV. a remarkable attention was shown to the formalities of the constitution, and some difficulty was experienced in organising a new parliament under a monarch who had no legal authority to convoke it. The commons had, indeed, by this time gained in effect three capital points: that money could not be levied, and that laws could not be enacted without their consent; and that the administration of parliament was subject to their inspection and control. The great principle of controlling the public money was steadily maintained by the parliament under the house of Lancaster, and other demands made, which, however, were not quite so successful.

5. At this time also an expression occurs in reference to parliament, namely, "Estates of the Realm," which it is proper to explain. It appears, then, from the general tenor of ancient records and law-books, that this phrase at that time implied the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Commons of England— and not, as it is now commonly understood, the sovereign and the two houses of parliament.*

* The lower house of parliament is not in itself properly an estate of the realm, but only the representative of the real third estate—namely, the Commons.

6. The state of the royal revenue presents us with another proof of the balance of power in the constitution during this period, inasmuch as the king came now to depend for his income chiefly upon parliamentary grants. This was effected by the several charters of liberties, which had considerably curtailed the ancient resources of the crown; and the greater part of its hereditary estates had been dissipated by Richard, John, and Henry III. The principal support of this last monarch was indeed derived from the clergy and the Jews, from whom he extorted immense sums; and yet he was obliged to declare himself in debt to the amount of nearly 300,000 marks towards the end of his reign.

Edward I. more wisely relied upon the parliament, though not till it had itself compelled him; and many of the old arbitrary forms of taxation were still kept up. Edward III. still farther established the custom of seeking supplies from his faithful commons, yet not without adding many illegal imposts of his own.

A peculiar tax imposed in the second year of Richard II. is said to have been the first that was distinguished by the name of a subsidy, afterwards the common title for a parliamentary grant to the crown. It was, in fact, a poll or capitation tax (such as had been already levied under Edward III.), and shortly afterwards gave rise to the famous insurrection under Wat Tyler. The first parliamentary grant for life was also made to this king, consisting of a duty on the exportation of wool, wool fells, and leather. Now, too, the parliament passed an act offering a discount off these duties to all merchants who would pay the Calais dues beforehand, which is supposed to be the first attempt ever made to anticipate the revenue — a practice which in later times gave rise to the national debt.

Under the house of Lancaster the monarch was more than ever dependent upon parliament for the means of carrying on the government of the country. Its ordinary grants were sometimes withheld in such a manner as to show a keen sense of its authority, and the occasional subsidies were sometimes evaded by a proposition to seize all or part of

the property of the Church.* This, however, was too bold a measure to be yet entertained. The distribution of the royal revenue was, moreover, controlled rather arbitrarily by the parliament, and Henry V. was often reduced to such difficulties as to pawn the crown jewels, and even the crown itself.

The reign of Henry VI. presents the first known instance of money being borrowed for the Crown upon parliamentary engagements, former kings having obtained relief only on their own personal security. Edward IV. was reduced to still greater straits, and was obliged often to depend upon his own personal applications to his subjects, and upon his successful speculations in trade.† All these circumstances, of course, very much contributed to the consequence and authority of parliament.

7. The condition of the people at large next demands our attention. In the course of the present period a great change was effected by the gradual transformation of the villains into freemen; for the villain regardant (as he was called), or serf proprietor of land, obtained by degrees a fixed amount of services to be performed, and next a commutation for a money payment in lieu of all service. Thus he became a tenant in villenage, or what we now call a copyholder‡, and completed his emancipation under the reign of Edward IV., when he was permitted to bring an action of

* The ordinary grants of parliament commonly consisted of the customs' duties, called tonnage and poundage, the rates of which varied considerably at different times. The tonnage was levied on every tun of wine imported, and the poundage on every pound of other merchandise either imported or exported.

The occasional subsidies were generally a tenth or fifteenth (*disme* or *quinzième*) of the income of each individual, as estimated by commissioners appointed for the purpose.

† It is said that upon one occasion this jovial monarch applied to a rich and elderly widow, who was so delighted with his appearance that she promised him 20*l.* for the sake of his handsome face. Edward testified his gratitude by gallantly giving the old lady a kiss, which drew from her in return a donation of 20*l.* more.

‡ So called because the tenant had nothing to show as a title to his property but customary right, which was proved by the *copies* of entries regarding such custom upon the rolls of the courts baron.

trespass against his lord for violent dispossession. The villain in gross again, or the slave labourer, was at the same time gradually becoming a free workman, being either emancipated by his master, or taking advantage of the law which gave him liberty after a residence of a year and a day within a walled town. Thus by the middle of the fourteenth century a large body of free labourers had grown up in England; and although the king and the parliament passed several acts to impede it, villenage gradually disappeared from the whole face of the country. It is remarkable that in 1380 Wat Tyler and his associates demanded chiefly the abolition of slavery, and made no claim to political rights; but in 1450 Jack Cade and his insurgents said not a word of villenage, which had then almost passed away, but boldly demanded the general redress of grievances, and remonstrated against the illegal interference of the nobility in elections for knights of the shire.

The effect of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster was, no doubt, to loosen the hold of the feudal barons (many of whom were slain or impoverished in the contest) upon the people, and to increase the consequence of the latter body, which was naturally courted by both parties. A considerable rise in wages was also the result, and the price of field labour advanced from 50 to 100 per cent. between 1388 and 1444, which produced a corresponding improvement in the dress and comforts of the labourer, to restrain which severe sumptuary laws were occasionally enacted.

8. The abolition of villenage involved, however, one great evil—the introduction of English pauperism, which could not of course make its appearance so long as every individual had a legal right to food and shelter from his lord, even when past his labour or broken down by sickness. But from the moment that the working man became his own master, and of course obliged to provide for himself under all circumstances, the destitute poor begin to present themselves, and often to enforce their demands with threats or violence. The earliest notice of this new state of things is in the Ordinance of Labourers, enacted in 1349, in which an edict is issued against

giving any thing to "valiant beggars." The power of apprehending and examining vagabonds was not, however, given to justices of the peace till 1383, and still severer measures were subsequently passed. The first approach to the present law of settlement is in 1388, when beggars "impotent to serve" were commanded either to abide in the towns where they were dwelling at the issue of the statute, or to withdraw to other towns within the hundred in which they were born, and there to abide continually for their lives. The last enactment on this subject during the present period is one of Richard II. (confirmed 4 Hen. IV.), which orders that in every future appropriation of any parish church the diocesan shall direct a convenient proportion of the fruits and profits of the benefice to be distributed yearly to the poor parishioners in aid of their subsistence and living for ever.

9. The body of English laws attained to considerable perfection under Edward I., and Wales was put by the Statuta Walliæ on the same footing, in a great measure, as England. The terrible punishment of the *peine forte et dure*, by which prisoners who obstinately refused to plead at their trial, were pressed to death with heavy weights (a sharp stone or piece of timber being sometimes as a favour laid under the back to hasten destruction), is supposed by some to have arisen out of one of this king's ordinances, in which silent persons (if notorious felons) are required to be put in *prison forte et dure, peine* being probably substituted for *prison* in after times.* The administration of justice was also improved by the introduction of judges of assize and *nisi prius*† in place of the ancient

* This dreadful torture was sometimes submitted to with the view of avoiding corruption of blood and escheat of lands, which might have followed conviction after a plea. Instances of its application, or of an unsanctioned preliminary of tying the thumbs together with whipcord, occurred as low down in our history as 1734. At length it was put a stop to by the statute 12 Geo. III. c. 20., which enacted that every prisoner who, being arraigned for felony, should stand mute or not answer directly to the offence, should be at once held convicted and punishment awarded.

† The phrase *nisi prius* is derived (as is usual) from the terms of the statute, which declares that the trials in any county should be held at Westminster, unless first (*nisi prius*) the judges of assize should come to those parts, which they were, of course, certain to do.

justices in eyre, and by several new forms of law proceedings which it would be difficult to explain to general readers.

Several excellent law books were now written; such as Fleta, Britton, the Mirror of Justices, &c., all worthy successors of Bracton, and of the still earlier Glanvill. Under Edward II. the Year Books began; so called because published annually from the notes of the crown reporters. They contain reports of cases adjudged from the beginning of this reign to the end of Edward III., and from the beginning of Henry IV. to the end of Henry VIII. Now, too, we find mention of hostels or inns of court, which derive their name from the fact of their inhabitants being members of the king's courts. The first of these was Lincoln's Inn, founded by William Earl of Lincoln, a great patron of legal studies.* A Master of the Rolls was also appointed to relieve the Chancellor of the labour of keeping the rolls and records of his court.

10. Under Edward III. the statutes begin to appear in a more regular form, and their titles are almost always given in English, though the body of the decree continued to be in French. The most important in this reign is the Statute of Treasons, which defines that crime with greater particularity than any previous law. Pleadings were now ordered to be carried on in the English tongue, and inrolled in Latin, although French remained for some centuries the written language of the laws, and many of its terms and phrases were still retained in debate.

11. During the civil wars of the Roses an important legal form was introduced called Common Recoveries, which, by a collusive proceeding between the grantor and grantee barring all entails, remainders, and reversions to which a freehold might be subject, conveyed it in fee simple to the purchaser or recoverer, and thus emancipated the land from the restraints

* A student in the inns of court could not live at this time under 28*l.* a year, and that without a servant. For this reason law students were generally sons of persons of quality, who were, however, often placed there, not so much for the learning of the law as of manners; for, says old Fortescue, "All vice was there discountenanced and banished, and every thing good and virtuous was taught."

of the ancient feudal law.* Bad as Richard III. is usually represented, he appears to have been no injudicious legislator, especially for the common people. To the time of the civil wars belong the two great law writers Fortescue and Littleton.

12. Jurors in the time of Edward I. appear still to have been regarded as witnesses; and to call other witnesses before them for examination, would, in consequence, have been inconsistent with their recognised position. The present constitution of a jury was not, indeed, perfectly settled till the time of Edward VI. and Queen Mary. Trial by duel was, however, discouraged under that monarch in some degree.

There was a law officer of the crown called the king's attorney, but no king's solicitor till the reign of Edward IV., when we find also the first mention of the "attorney-general in England." The jurisdiction of the different courts under Edward I. ran in this order: — 1. The High Court of Parliament, which, for a long time after its full establishment, had more the character of a judicial than of a legislative assembly. 2. The Court of the Seneschal or Steward, who filled the abolished place of the Chief Justiciary in certain cases.† 3. The Court of Chancery, over which was set some discreet person, as a bishop or other dignified ecclesiastic, to whom was committed the keeping of the great seal. It was not made a Court of Equity till the reign of Richard II., and the first chancellor who was properly qualified by a legal education was Sir Thomas More. 4. An Auditor's Court, appointed by the king. 5. The King's Justices, justices of the Exchequer, &c. Besides these king's courts, were the county,

* In a common recovery (for which a process of ejectment is now substituted), a fictitious action is brought by the grantee (or person to whom the land is intended to be conveyed) either against the grantor (or seller of the land), or some other person, so as to involve the grantor in the proceedings, and is so conducted that, for want of a sufficient defence, judgment is given against the grantor, which judgment afterwards forms the title to the property to all posterity.

† The title of chief justiciary of England ended in Philip Basset, and the first who held the office of chief justice of the King's Bench was Robert de Bruis, both in the time of Henry III. The salary of a justice of the King's Bench in that reign was 40*l.* per annum, and of the Common Pleas 100 marks.

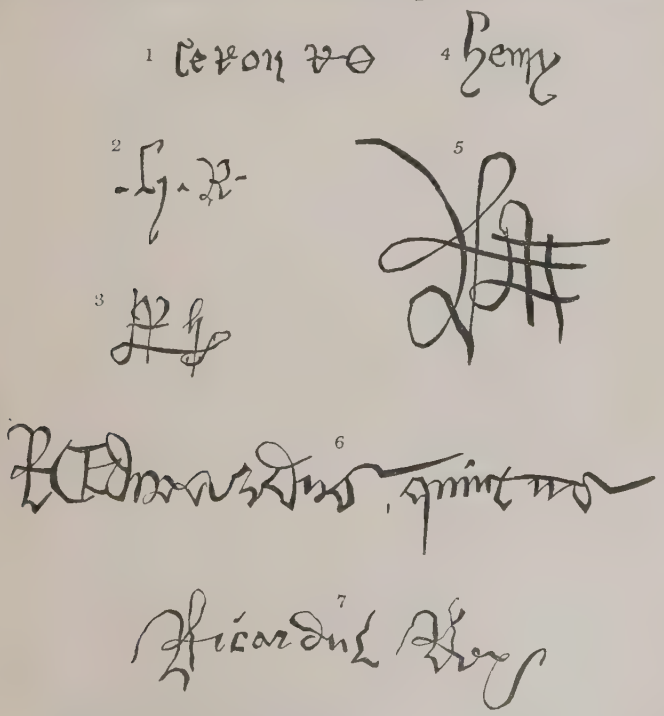
town, and hundred courts, and those established on the king's manors.

13. The state of the country, notwithstanding the increased machinery and power of the laws, was even before the civil wars far from being orderly or secure. Jurors, it is affirmed, would rather suffer strangers to be robbed than convict their own offending neighbours, and very strict regulations were consequently imposed, especially in towns. Strangers were to be treated as suspected persons until answered for by some sufficient inhabitant; and if found in the streets between sunset and sunrise, to be immediately apprehended by the watch. Highways were also to be cleared of wood for 200 feet on each side to prevent lurking robbers, and every man was required to provide himself with arms according to his station, so that, in case of resistance to justice, the hue and cry might be instantly and effectively raised.

Probably the remissness of the people in these matters was increased by the natural opposition between the old Saxon spirit of retaining the maintenance of order and the repression of crime a good deal in their own hands, and the Norman institutions, which tended to concentrate all power and authority in the crown, and regarded popular interference in the administration of the law with extreme jealousy and aversion. Thus the justices of peace (first invested with this title and with the power of trying felons under Edward III.), when once appointed by the crown, and not as formerly by the freeholders, were viewed with great suspicion by the people, and their authority at times even petitioned against by the commons. No small addition was made to this feeling by the abuse of the law itself, which was often made the instrument of oppression, both by the crown and by individuals, so that it was necessary to pass repeated acts against the conspiring together to bear down a solitary victim by legal acts, which was commonly practised by the great lords in conjunction with their ready retainers. This practice was carried to an enormous height during the dissensions by which the country was torn, when legal proceedings were sometimes taken clandestinely, and a man deprived of his property by a decree, before any notice was even given him

of the charge. In such cases he defended his right, if he could, by force of arms, whilst the law and its ministers quietly looked on.

14. All the existing ranks of English nobility, except that of Viscount, were introduced by the time of Richard II. The first English Duke was the Black Prince, who was created Duke of Cornwall in 1337, and the first Marquis, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was created Marquis of Dublin by Richard II. in 1386. The first Viscount was John Beaumont, who was created by Henry VI. in 1439. The title of Earl had existed, as we have seen, from the Saxon times, and that of Baron generally succeeded to the appellation of Thane after the Norman Conquest.



Autographs of English Monarchs. (Cotton MS. and Paston Letters.)

1. Signature of Richard II. (LE ROY RCD.) Believed to be the earliest extant.
2. Signature of Henry IV. (H. R.)
3. Of Henry V. (R. H.)
4. Of Henry VI. (HENRY.)
5. Of Edward IV. (R. E.)
6. Of Edward V. (R. EDWARDUS QUINTUS.)
7. Of Richard III. (RICARDUS REX.)

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION.

1. The 13th century witnessed the extremest height of the papal dominion, which was extended, without even an attempt at resistance, over all the kingdoms of the West. The insolent conduct, however, of the popes and their instruments was even now exciting a spirit of discontent, and sowing the seeds of a revolution, which began to manifest itself early in the next century, and was at last fully developed in the Reformation. In no country were the exactions of the Roman pontiffs carried to a greater length than in England. Throughout the 13th century the English bishoprics were filled either by the direct nomination of the pope, or by his arbitration in the case of a disputed election, and inferior benefices were disposed of entirely at his will. Up to the time of Gregory IX., indeed (A.D. 1227—1241), the recommendations of the pope were not distinctly avowed to be of an authoritative character; but from that period they became more and more pointed, till at last, Clement IV. in 1266, plainly asserted his universal right of nomination to Church livings.

By what was called a *reservation*, moreover, the pope now assumed the power of reserving to himself the next presentation to any benefice he pleased, which was not at the time vacant; or by another instrument called a *provision*, he at once named a person to succeed the actual incumbent. The English livings were thus filled by Italian priests, who either never resided in the country, or knew nothing of its language if they did, and yet rarely appointed any substitutes to perform their important duties. In the three last years of Gregory XI. it is said that three hundred Italians were thus provided for in our Church, and it was solemnly stated by the English envoys at the council of Lyons (A.D. 1245), that these foreigners drew from England 60,000 or 70,000 marks a year, a sum greater at that time than the whole revenue of

the crown. Some of them, it is affirmed, held fifty or sixty livings together, the entire income of which was spent out of the country. When a curate again was appointed by these wealthy non-residents, he was paid in the most wretched manner, perhaps with four or five marks a year, or two marks and his board.

Another means of increasing the wealth of the Roman see was found in the imposed necessity of trying all ecclesiastical cases of importance at Rome. Gregory IX. is said in one way or another to have extracted from England, in the course of a very few years, not less than 950,000 marks, a sum which has been estimated as equivalent to 15,000,000*l.* of our present money.

2. The Church was considerably aided in its contest with the civil power (for these extortions were not submitted to without occasional remonstrance) by the extended and systematic form given to the Canon law in the course of the 13th century. To the Decretum of Gratian, the old text book on this head, were now added five books of Decretals by Gregory IX., consisting of the rescripts issued by himself and his immediate predecessors. In these books, which soon became the most essential part of the Canon law, we find a regular and copious system of jurisprudence, derived in a great measure from the Civil law, but with some improvements of its own. Boniface VIII. added a sixth part, itself divided into five books, composed of the decisions promulgated since the time of Gregory IX.

The whole tendency of the Canon law (which rested almost entirely on the legislative authority of the pope) was to enforce the complete subservience of the temporal to the ecclesiastical authority, and the right of the pope to depose princes, and absolve subjects from their allegiance, in case of disobedience to his Holiness. Nay, the bishops of Rome assumed a still higher power than that of declaring or even making the law, for they asserted a right of dispensing with its strongest obligations at their own mere will and pleasure, especially in the case of marriages contracted under canonical impediments, and of oaths, the natural foundation of all con-

tracts and obligations.* It was expressly laid down, not only that any oath extorted by fear might be annulled by ecclesiastical authority; but also, that an oath disadvantageous to the Church was essentially, and from the very first, without force, whether it were formally dispensed with or not. The pope also claimed the right of removing illegitimacy of birth, at his own pleasure, in any case.

3. Monasteries continued to be founded in various directions at this time, and landed property bequeathed to the Church, though not quite to the same extent as in the 12th century. Indeed there was evidently the less occasion for such bequests, since, in the early part of the 14th century, it is calculated that very nearly one half the soil of the kingdom was in the hands of the clergy, and that their annual revenue amounted to the enormous sum of 730,000 marks, more than twelve times the whole civil revenue during the reign of Henry III. Perhaps, also, the laity did not like to see so much of their property go into the hands of foreigners.

But the law itself now began to impose some restraints upon the lavish donations to the Church, and the statutes of Mortmain† (first passed 7 Edward I. A.D. 1279) strictly prohibited the appropriation of lands or tenements by gift or conveyance to the religious corporations. The churchmen, however, soon found a method of evading this law, by setting up a fictitious title, and bringing an action against their friend the proprietor, who, by collusion, made no defence, and thus the land was *recovered* upon a supposed prior title. From this practice arose the legal fiction called *Common Recoveries*, already noticed; but this was again attacked

* By the ancient laws of the church, espousals were forbidden between relations by blood or marriage within the seventh degree. This rule was not considered liable to dispensation till the time of Innocent III. in the 12th century. Afterwards dispensations became usual, and by the fourth council of Lateran, in 1215, marriages beyond the fourth degree (or what we call third cousins) were formally permitted.

† Lands are said to go into mortmain (i.e. mortuum manum, *the dead hand*,) when made over to any corporate body, whether clerical or civil; but the term seems at first to have been used solely with reference to religious bodies (which were then the only proper corporations) whose members were considered as dead in law.

by another statute in 13 Edward I. Another provision was made by the same monarch, to check the exportation of ecclesiastical property into foreign countries.

4. A new class of active ministers of the Church arose during the 13th century in the Mendicant Friars, of whom there were at first an immense variety, but who were afterwards reduced to four principal orders, namely, the Dominicans or Black Friars (called also Friars Preachers), instituted by St. Dominic de Guzman; the Franciscans or Grey Friars (called also Cordeliers), founded by St. Francis of Assisi; the Carmelites or White Friars; and the Augustines, also called Grey Friars, from the colour of their respective habits.*

Franciscan or Grey Friar. Dominican or Black Friar.

Like their luxurious brethren in the monasteries, these zealous travellers supported their title of mendicants for no

* The Dominicans founded their first English house at Oxford in 1221, and soon after another at London. In 1276 the mayor and aldermen gave them two whole streets by the Thames, which place is still called Blackfriars. The Franciscans came in the reign of Henry III., and first settled at Canterbury: from their title of Friars-minors, the Minories takes its name. The Carmelites have given the name of White Friars to another district on the Thames, and Austin Friars, near the Bank of England, still preserves its ancient appellation.

great length of time, but whilst it lasted the effect of their ostentatious poverty was prodigious. They were extremely active in preaching also, and in all the ministrations of religion, and took great pains to gain the favour of the multitude. Amongst the Franciscans and Dominicans, too, the most distinguished scholars were soon to be found; and their fame for learning gave a new charm to the austerities of their appearance. By the middle of the 13th century, the parish churches were, in consequence, almost deserted; confessions were made to the friars alone; and in less than ten years after the institution of the Franciscans, the delegates to its general chapter formed of themselves a crowd of 5000 persons.*

All these orders were bound most strongly to the church, not only by their vows, but also by the strict imposition of celibacy, which separated them from the world and its connections. The secular clergy were now, it is true, also forbidden to marry; but still their benefices and other ties linked them more closely with the world.

With these new agents a fresh instrument of spiritual coercion also appeared in the dreaded Inquisition, of which St. Dominic is commonly reputed the founder, or, at least, the first suggester. Fortunately, this horrid court never reached the shores of merry England, at least under its original form.

5. The famous body of Knights Templars, which had attained to immense wealth and power since the 12th century, and numbered in its ranks the noblest of every country, was early in the 14th century totally suppressed throughout Christendom. Their ruin began in France with king Philip le Bel and his ally pope Clement V. who coveted the rich possessions of the Red Cross Knights. In one hour every Templar throughout the kingdom was seized, and the most horrible tortures applied to force a confession of the most improbable crimes; fifty-four Knights were burnt at once in Paris, and numbers of others condemned to perpetual im-

* By a calculation made so late as the 18th century, although the Reformation must have diminished their numbers at least one third, it was found that there were still in Europe 28,000 Franciscan nuns maintained in 900 nunneries, and 115,000 friars in 7000 convents, besides many others not included in the return.

prisonment. This cruel measure was followed by the overthrow of the order in other countries, but, in England at least, without being accompanied by equal severities. The number of Templars seized in this country was about 250, who were sent into different monasteries, and their lands given up to the Knights of St. John.*

With these famous champions disappeared also the Crusades, which had for some time been carried on with but little spirit. The fifth Crusade took place in 1218, the sixth in 1248, when St. Louis of France was taken prisoner, and the seventh in 1270, when he died; and ere the century had closed, the Christians were driven for ever from the Holy Land. A new species of Crusades, however, arose in the West, namely, military expeditions against the Jews, Albigenses, and other heretics, which were carried on with great cruelty and slaughter.

6. All the power and exertions of the ecclesiastical authority failed, however, in wholly checking the spirit of resistance amongst the laity, and especially the sovereigns of England. Even during the feeble reign of Henry III. considerable progress was made in restraining the jurisdiction of the spiritual tribunals. The judges in the king's courts now came to be common lawyers instead of clergymen, and these soon began to assert the supremacy of their jurisdiction, and to check the ecclesiastics in all matters beyond their own province. The question was finally settled in 13 Edward I., when the limits of the spiritual courts were strictly defined. Clerks charged with felony were now also ordered to be first indicted in the King's Bench, and, if there found guilty, their property appears to have been forfeited to the Crown.

* It is worth observing that during the trial of the Templars in England, the pope urged the king (Edward II.) to make use of torture; but there was no instrument of the kind to be found in the country, nor had the practice ever been heard of before! The Archbishop of York *charitably* inquired of his clergy whether, under such circumstances, he might not send abroad for some little tormentor, so that the prelates might not be chargeable with negligence! None, however, seem to have been used upon the occasion.

The constitution of the English Convocation or synod of the church may be regarded as part of the policy of Edward I. It now differed from those of other Christian kingdoms (which consisted wholly of bishops) by his admission of the inferior clergy, whose representatives in each province formed the lower house, whilst the bishops sat in the upper, and the archbishop presided with regal state, so as to present an exact counterpart to the houses of parliament; and, as there also, all questions must pass both houses before any final settlement. By this means he was enabled to secure the taxing of benefices through consent of the convocation, and the inferior clergy obtained a direct share in the formation of ecclesiastical canons.

Edward II. yielded in some measure to the pope, but Edward III., after some fruitless expostulations, positively defied his authority, and enacted several statutes against *provisors, i. e.* that the court of Rome should not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England, and that whoever should disturb any patron in his presentation to a living on the ground of a papal provision, should pay fine and ransom to the king at his will, and be imprisoned till he removed such provision; and the same punishment was inflicted on such as should cite the king or any of his subjects to answer in the court of Rome. Finally, by the famous statute of Præmunire (16 Richard II. A. D. 1392) it was "ordained and established," that any person purchasing provisions, excommunications, bulls, or any instruments in the court of Rome or elsewhere, or bringing them into the realm, should be put out of the king's protection, and his lands and goods forfeited.* The popes resisted this statute for some time, but without success, and were at last obliged humbly to issue their presentations in favour of those who were known previously to be nominated by the Crown.

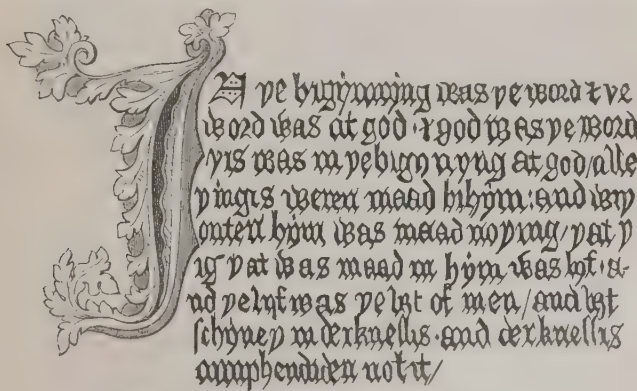
7. A still more formidable spirit was displayed in the

* This statute derives its name from the words "Præmunire" or "Præmonere facias," used to command a citation of the party named in the writ issued for the execution of this and of preceding statutes respecting provisions. It does not clearly appear that it was ever regularly passed by the parliament, but it has been repeatedly recognised as a statute by subsequent acts of the legislature.

writings and discoveries of the first great reformer of England, John de Wycliffe *, who, beginning with the extravagant authority claimed by the popes, attacked in succession the Mendicant orders and all classes of ecclesiastics with the most unsparing and bitter invective. He was warmly supported by the great Duke of Lancaster and other noblemen, and made a great impression upon the popular mind.

The peculiar views of this excellent man which produced the greatest effect were those respecting the constitution of the church and the subject of ecclesiastical authority.

On the point of doctrine he met with less sympathy at the time; but his great principles of the sole authority of Scripture and the undeniable right of private judgment were by no means lost upon his hearers. The curiosity which his constant quotations from Scripture had excited, he subsequently gratified by a translation of the Old and New Testaments into the English tongue — the oldest that is now extant, and next in antiquity to the Saxon version attributed to Alfred. English translations of many parts, and even perhaps of the whole, of the Scriptures existed indeed before the time of Wycliffe; but they are lost to us, and appear to



Specimen of Wycliffe's Bible — in the British Museum.

have been unknown in their own time to the great body of the people.

* Wycliffe was born about 1324 in Yorkshire, and died in 1384 at his rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire.

8. The popular feeling was still more alienated from the prevailing system of church government during the 15th century; but, on the other hand, it was more vigorously supported by the state, which now no longer dreaded it as a rival, and felt, perhaps, that it contributed largely to the maintenance of a high respect for establishments of all kinds. A main cause of this decay of authority may undoubtedly be found in the great Western schism which broke out on the death of Gregory XI. in 1378, and divided the Latin church for the space of half a century. After the decease of that pontiff, Urban VI. was elected by the unanimous voice of the cardinals, but in five months after they assembled secretly at a distance from Rome, excommunicated their own nominee as an apostate and anti-Christ, and announced as the true pope of their free election Clement VII.

The different nations of Europe received this twofold election according to their geographical position or national feelings. Most of the Italians adhered to their countryman Urban, and were supported by England, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, chiefly through hatred to France, which, backed by Scotland, Navarre, Castile, Arragon, Savoy, Sicily, and Cyprus, maintained the cause of the Frenchman Clement. A series of four successive popes on one side and two on the other, continued this disgraceful contest till 1409, when both the pretenders to the tiara were solemnly deposed by the council of Pisa, and a Greek priest put in their place. This vote was not, however, universally respected, and so another was only added to the list of claimants, till the Council of Constance in 1417 deposed all three, and set up Martin V., who yet was not fortunate enough to put an end to the schism till the year 1429, when his last antagonist publicly submitted to his authority.* The

* This council of Constance is remarkable, amongst other things, for the bold and successful stand which was made by the English ambassadors, in defence of their national right to be considered as an independent body, equal to any of the others, in opposition to the French, who asserted that Christendom was properly divided into four great parts, Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, and that England and other lesser kingdoms should be classed under one or other of those great divisions.

effect of this contest was, however, to shake the temporal authority of the pontiffs, and expose their weakness and their vices; and after this time their imperious mandates to kings and princes were generally replaced by insinuating entreaties and repeated concessions.

9. The arbitrary power of the pope met also with serious resistance during this period from the clergy assembled in two councils, which are called General by the Church of Rome. The Council of Constance asserted the rights of a general council with some boldness, but it was far surpassed by the Council of Basil (1431—1443), which, declaring the positive superiority of such a synod, assumed an attitude of actual revolt against the sovereign pontiff, prohibited him from creating new cardinals, and suppressed the *annates*, or tax upon benefices, which constituted a large portion of his revenue. This attack was met by the calling of a rival council at Ferrara, for which act the pope was formally deposed by the Council of Basil, and another appointed in his stead. In this fresh schism the English clergy, or, at least, the lower house of convocation of the province of Canterbury, took part at first with the old pope, but afterwards with the council, till the death of one pontiff and the abdication of the other terminated a contest which has never since been renewed.

10. The crown and the clergy in England maintained, at this time, a close and friendly connection, which was not broken even by the novel execution of Archbishop Scrope for high treason, by Henry IV., A. D. 1405. For this daring act, which, in former times, would have shaken his throne to the foundation, the pope merely issued a general sentence of excommunication, which was revoked upon Henry's sending in a justification of his conduct to the court of Rome. Still the royal favour did not fully make up for the weakening of the popular affection; and new and striking measures were thought necessary to revive the ancient hold of the priesthood over the minds of the multitude. Amongst these, accusations of heresy seemed the most plausible and most effective, and were, besides, extremely useful in getting quietly rid of avowed and dangerous foes.

Till this period differences of doctrine had but little

troubled the Church of England, and the old laws upon the subject were accordingly comparatively mild, the writ *de hæretico comburendo* (if, indeed, it were a part of the ancient common law) never having been acted upon till after the commencement of the 15th century. About the time of Henry IV., however, the Lollards, or Wycliffites, as they are often styled, made a considerable stir, and the zeal of the established clergy was forthwith aroused for their destruction. These "heretics" are generally considered as the followers of John Wycliffe; but they seem rather to have been a sect of foreign origin, whose opinions resembled those of that great reformer. Their name has been variously derived from lolium, *tares* (in allusion to the parable of the wheat and the tares), and from the old German word, lollen, or lullen, *to sing as a nurse*, in reference to their practice of psalm-singing; but more probably still from the German reformer, Walter Lolhard, who was burnt at Cologne in 1322.

The English Lollards were declared enemies of the established church, and of all the pretensions of the Romish hierarchy, and protested against the principal errors in doctrine, such as transubstantiation, exorcisms, extreme unction, prayers for the dead and to images, &c. They also asserted the absolute sinfulness of taking away human life under any circumstances, and the unlawfulness of certain trades, such as the goldsmith and sword-cutler, under the Christian dispensation.

11. The commons were not slack at first to join the clergy in a petition against these unfortunate people, and the result was, the passing of the famous statute 2 Hen. IV. c. 15. By this act imprisonment, fines, and, lastly, the dreadful punishment of *burning* at the stake, were solemnly decreed against all who taught or favoured the teachers of any thing "contrary to the Catholic faith or determination of the Holy Church." The first victim of this formidable statute was William Sawtre, rector of Lynn, in Norfolk, and afterwards priest of St. Osythe's, in London. The principal charge brought against him before the primate Arundel and the convocation, was his denial of worship to the cross and of transubstantiation. He was condemned as a relapsed heretic, degraded, deposed with great solemnity, and then delivered

over to the secular power to be dealt with according to the law. This first martyr was burnt in Smithfield in March, 1401, amidst a vast concourse of spectators.

The next recorded case is that of William Thorpe, a distinguished priest, who directly ascribed his knowledge of the truth to John Wycliffe and his disciples. His fate is not distinctly known, but it is not improbable that he died in prison. The second victim who actually perished at the stake, was John or Thomas Badby, a mechanic, who, for denying transubstantiation, in 1410, was burnt in Smithfield, stedfastly refusing the Prince of Wales' offer of pardon and support on condition of recantation. A loftier mark was found in Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, under Henry V., who added force of arms, however, to his heretical opinions, and drew a number of poor Lollards into his own destruction.

12. Arundel was succeeded by Archbishop Chicheley, who apprehended the heretics in such numbers that the prisons were crowded to excess, and several were burnt. It was he who built the addition to Lambeth Palace, still known as the Lollards' Tower, from the small room at the top, in which they were confined by iron rings, which yet remain fixed in the walls. After his time the most remarkable charge of heresy which was brought was that against Reginald Peacock, or Pocock, Bishop of Chichester, in 1457.

The great offence of this good prelate seems to have been a disposition for toleration and quiet reasoning with men accused of erroneous notions, rather than for severe and sudden punishment. The only doctrine that he was charged with positively denying was, that of infallibility. He would have been put to death, no doubt, immediately, but that he recanted his obnoxious opinions at Paul's Cross; he was, however, sent to prison in Thorney Abbey, where he died, after a confinement of three years. The persecution of the Lollards was at length suspended by the more exciting wars of the Roses, the progress of which contributed no doubt to clear away many old hereditary prejudices in religion as in other matters.

13. The nation appears, indeed, at this time, to have been divided into three parties: the avowed enemies of the Established Church; the members of the church who desired its reform, but not its overthrow; and the bigoted adherents to the existing order of things. The national spirit under the Lancastrian princes was certainly as strong as ever; the statutes against provisors were renewed and extended, and great anxiety shown to prevent any undue interference on the part of Rome. The parliament, also, steadily maintained the supremacy of the civil over the ecclesiastical courts, notwithstanding an attempt on the part of the bishops and clergy to overthrow it. The clergy, however, set their face against all reforms or concessions to the spirit of the age; and the ancient popular superstitions were sanctioned by the church as fully as in the earliest and darkest ages. During this period the cup in the Lord's Supper was gradually taken from the laity, as it continues to be in the Church of Rome to the present day.

Pilgrimages to Rome were still frequent, and a few even made their way to Jerusalem. The last Crusades, or rather attempts at Crusades, took place in the 15th century, when Pope Martin V. proclaimed war against the Hussites of Bohemia. Cardinal Beaufort was appointed captain-general of the crusaders, and raised an army of 5000 English archers and 500 lances to act against the heretics. This force, however — the last ever levied in England for such a purpose — was speedily laid hold of by the Duke of Bedford, then warring in France, and applied to his own more important purposes.

14. At the accession of Edward IV., who was anxious to conciliate the pope and the clergy, a short glimpse of their ancient power was conceded by a charter which dispensed with the statute of præmunire, and deprived the temporal courts of all power of punishing ecclesiastics for any offences. This charter, however, was not confirmed by parliament, and had no lasting effect.

15. The general conduct and character of the clergy of this age are not handed down to us in a very favourable

light. We have the authority of the University of Oxford and of Archbishop Bourchier for describing the churchmen of the 15th century as frequently devoid both of literature and capacity, profligate, abandoned, and rapacious. This

Passage of the Host. Cripples worshipping. (Cotton MS.)

character of the secular clergy threw great influence into the hands of the friars, who were publicly accused, under Henry IV., of seducing the most promising youths into their ranks, especially from the universities; and they were forbidden, in consequence, to take into their order any infant under the age of fourteen, without the consent of his relations or guardians.

16. The style of preaching at this time may be gathered, in some degree, from the constitutions of a convocation at York, held in 1466. It is there ordered that every parish priest should preach, either personally or by substitute, four times in the year; to use plain English speech, and to explain the *fourteen* articles of faith, the ten commandments (of which the second is omitted and the tenth divided), the two precepts of the Gospel, the seven works of mercy, seven mortal sins, and seven sacraments. What specimens remain of the sermons of this date are by no means discreditable to the learning and piety of the reverend fathers.

CHAPTER III.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

1. The taste for elegant literature, throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, was wholly overpowered and borne down by the prevailing passion for metaphysical disputations. Almost the only Latin poet of that time was a foreigner — William the Breton — who wrote an epic on the actions of Philip Augustus of France. In the university of Paris, and probably in all other schools, the classics had nearly ceased to be read, and the habit of speaking Latin with purity was generally lost throughout the world of scholars. Almost the only studies now pursued were the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics, which had, however, made their way against much opposition, especially on the part of the church. It was an age, nevertheless, of great intellectual activity and of a very general diffusion of such education as the schools afforded. At the beginning of the 14th century there were 30,000 students at the university of Oxford, and probably a still larger number at that of Paris.

2. Some of the most distinguished scholastic doctors of the day were natives of Britain. Amongst them may be mentioned, in particular, Alexander de Hales, styled the Irrefragable, famous as the master of St. Bonaventure, and the first commentator on the Four Books of Sentences; Duns Scotus, the Subtle Doctor, a man of wonderful vigour and penetration of thought; William Occam, the Invincible, the restorer of the doctrine of Nominalism, or the opinion that general ideas are merely *names*, and not real existences, as was contended by the Realists — a doctrine which long divided the sect of logicians with bitter contests. These were all members of the Franciscan order.

In the mathematical and physical sciences Roger Bacon is by far the greatest name, not only of the 13th century, or of England, but of all Europe, and for some ages after his own

time. The preserved works of this truly great man (who was born at Ilchester, about 1214, and died in 1292,) show that his investigations included almost every possible branch of human knowledge, and with a success much beyond that of any of his predecessors or contemporaries. In optics, for instance, he not only understood the general laws of light, and had at least conceived such an instrument as the telescope, but had made some advances towards an explanation of the rainbow. He appears to have known the composition and effects of gunpowder (which, however, there is other evidence for believing to have been then understood in Europe), and was evidently familiar with mechanical principles and the power of many natural agents. Another eminent mathematician was his friend and patron — Robert Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln — who wrote a treatise on the sphere. Sir Michael Scott, also, better known as an astrologer and magician, was deeply versed in the secrets of natural philosophy, and is said to have written a work on physiognomy and a history of animals.

3. The Arabic numerals had certainly found their way into Europe before the middle of the 14th century, but they do not appear to have come into general use till a considerably later date. Arithmetic, therefore, could not have taken a very high place amongst the sciences. Astronomy, however, was sufficiently cultivated at the university of Paris to enable some of its members to predict an eclipse of the sun in 1310: its study being, no doubt, favoured by the general belief in astrology, or the science of predicting future events by the stars; just as chemistry was advanced by the universal passion for alchemy, or the transmutation of all metals into precious gold and silver. Of this latter art, Raymond Lully, who visited England in the reign of Edward I., on the king's invitation, was the most celebrated professor.

The earliest English writer on medicine, whose works have been published, is Gilbert English, who flourished in the 13th century. Medicine, although still a superstitious and quackish art, had now been taken a good deal out of the hands of the clergy; and was somewhat improved by the writings of the Arab doctors. The distinction between the physician and

apothecary was well understood, and surgery had begun to be followed as a separate practice.* In geography, and the customs and institutions of distant countries, a great deal of information had already been given in the accounts of travellers; especially those of Marco Polo, who penetrated as far as Tartary and China in the latter part of the 13th century, and of Sir John Mandeville, who travelled about 100 years later.

4. About the middle of the 13th century, the universities, both of England and of other countries, began to assume a new form by the erection of colleges for their members, as separate communities.† The zeal for learning displayed in these munificent endowments is one of the most honourable characteristics of the age; and they gave to the universities themselves a permanent establishment, which, cramped as they had formerly been for room, and unable to exercise any effectual discipline over the students, they could scarcely as yet have been said to possess. In almost all these endowments, provision was made for the constant maintenance of a body of poor scholars; and private liberality was, no doubt, extensively shown in a variety of other ways.

5. Although Latin was no longer spoken with elegance or correctness, yet it continued to be the common language of the learned and of learned books. In it were written the chronicles and histories, which were mostly compiled in the monasteries, and of which the most eminent is that of Matthew Paris, a Benedictine monk, of St. Alban's, remarkable

* If we may believe Guy de Cauliac, who published a system of surgery in 1363, the surgeons of that day depended upon very simple methods indeed for their success. "The first sect," says he, "follow Roger and Roland and the four masters, and apply poultices to all wounds and abscesses; the second follow Brunus and Theodoric, and in the same cases use wine only; the third follow Saliceto and Lanfranc, and treat wounds with ointments and soft plasters; the fourth are chiefly Germans, who attend the armies and promiscuously use charms, potions, oil and wool; the fifth are old women and ignorant people, who have recourse to the saints in all cases."

† In Oxford were founded, during the 13th and 14th centuries, seven colleges, and in Cambridge nine colleges and halls; for the respective dates and founders of which the college calendars may be properly consulted.

for the singular freedom with which it speaks of the usurpations of Rome and the vices of the great. Latin was also, for a long time, the language of written law and of the charters of liberties. The first statute in French is the 3 Edward I., A.D. 1275. French became more frequent under Edward II.; and was almost exclusively used under Edward III. and Richard II. It was now also extensively employed in literary compositions.

There had existed, for some time, two great dialects of the French tongue, known as the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oyl*, from the two words for *yes*, which were *oc* (perhaps from the Latin *hoc*) in the one, and *oyl* (probably from *illud* —afterwards *oy* or *oui*) in the other. The langue d'oc, or Provençal tongue, was the popular speech of the southern, and the langue d'oyl of the northern, provinces of France*; from which latter the Norman French brought over to England was of course derived, and which was employed in legal documents at all times. It was also much written in by the northern trouvères, or poets, both Norman and English, although the langue d'oc had received an earlier cultivation at the hands of the southern troubadours, and was a great favourite in England under Richard I.

One eminent French writer of the 14th century deserves to be mentioned under this head, both from his intercourse with England and from the almost entire devotion of his chronicle to English affairs; namely, the celebrated Sire Jean Froissart, whose work is a perfect tableau of the manners and character of the time.

* From the Langue d'Oyl (originally spoken only to the north of the Loire) the modern French has been principally formed. Both these dialects were called Romance, or Romana Rustica, as being the provincial Roman or Latin tongue of Gaul, in opposition to the ancient Celtic language of the people.

The original speech of the Franks was German, or rather Flemish, which they continued to use for several centuries after their conquest of Gaul. At length they gradually adopted that of the conquered nation, and French became the modified Latin which we now find it.

6. The Saxon tongue still kept its hold upon the great bulk of the natives, and was but slightly affected by the introduction of Norman phrases for nearly two centuries after the Conquest. Its forms, however, were materially affected in the course of the 11th and 12th centuries; but whether by the influence of the foreign language or by some natural process of change within itself, it would be difficult to decide. Its sounds were much altered; syllables were cut short in the pronunciation; and the terminations and inflections of words, distinctions of gender, and government of prepositions greatly modified or entirely lost. This was the first step towards modern English, which the subsequent intermixture of the Norman vocabulary served to complete.

Before the time of Edward I. there are but a few and unimportant compositions that can be said to be written in English, as distinguished from Anglo-Saxon*; but in 1280,

* We must except, however, a little song, probably of the early part of the 13th century, which was set to music at a somewhat later period—

Sumer is icumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu;
Groweth sed,
And bloweth med,
And springeth the wode nu,
Sing cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb,
Lhouth after calve cu;
Bulluc sterteth,
Buck verteth,
Murie sing cuccu,
Cuccu, cuccu.

Well singes thu cuccu,
Ne swik nauer nu:
Sing cuccu nu; sing cuccu;
Sing cuccu; sing cuccu nu.

And the earliest love-song in English, which Warton places about 1200, and which begins thus:—

we find the rhyming chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, and about 20 years later, that of Robert Mannyng; in both of which, the proper English language appears, but still in its rudest state.* The greatest improver of this stiff and ungraceful tongue before the time of Chaucer was Laurence Minot, who flourished in the earlier part of Edward III., and wrote a series of poetical pieces of considerable merit. Towards the close of the same reign, Robert or William Langland wrote the curious satirical poem of "Piers Ploughman's Vision," which seems to have been framed upon a Saxon model, many obsolete words being revived, and the old principle of alliteration adopted instead of the more modern rhyme.

7. At length arose the great father of English literature, GEOFFREY CHAUCER, who first gave enduring vigour and consistency to our national poetry as well as language. The early pieces of this great master (born in London, about 1328, died 1400,) comprise every species of verse in which his predecessors or contemporaries had made themselves famous; and his Canterbury Tales alone include nearly every variety of gay or serious poetry.† A man of the world as

Blow northern wynd,
Sent thou me my swetynge;
Blow northern wynd,
Blow, blow, blow.

* The following is a specimen of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle in the original spelling: —

"Engelond ys a wel god lond ich wene of ech lond best,
Yset in the ende of the world as al in the west.
The see goth hym al about he stont as an yle.
Here fon heo durre the lasse doute, but hit be thorw gyle
Of folc of the selve lond as me hath yseye wyle.
From south to north he ys long eighte hondred myle."

† The Canterbury Tales are too well known to require a description, but a few lines may be quoted as a specimen of the language —

"The miller was a stout carl for the nones,
Ful bigge he was of braun and eke of bones —

well as a student, he enjoyed the friendship of the learned and the patronage of his sovereign, and was the first poet who was buried in Westminster Abbey. His contemporary, but far inferior as a poet, was John Gower, who wrote a great quantity of Latin and French verse as well as English. Nor were the Scotch behindhand in poetical literature, two poems in the Lowland Scotch (which closely resembles the English of that date) being still to be found; namely, the *Bruce* of John Barbour, and the *Cronykil* of Andrew Wynton, both written in the latter part of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th.

Of the English prose literature of the 14th century we have preserved, besides some smaller pieces, Wycliffe's Translation of the Scriptures, Trevisa's Translation of Higden's Polychronicon, some writings of Chaucer, and Sir John Mandeville's Travels.*

8. The studious enthusiasm of the 14th century seems to have worn itself considerably out by the beginning of the 15th. The 30,000 students of Oxford had, even in 1357, dwindled down to 6000; and the popular veneration for learning sank with the spirit of its professors. Instead of lofty honours and admiring crowds, the profound scholar was now received with general indifference, and, in some instances, even reduced to the necessity of begging his bread. Several new colleges were, however, added both to Oxford and Cambridge, the latter of which was especially honoured, at the hand of King Henry VI., by the foundation of King's College on a

> That proved wel — for over all ther he came,
> At wrastling he wold bere away the ram —
> He was short shuldered brode a thick gnarre,
> Ther n'as no dore that he n'olde heve of barre
> Or breke it at a renning with his hede."

* From this last writer, whose book is a singular collection of the most marvellous stories, a brief passage may be extracted: —

"And zee schull vnderstonde that Machomete was born in Arabye, that was first a pore knaue that kept Cameles that wenten with Marchantes for marchandise, and so befell that he wente with the marchandes in to Egipt, and thei were thanne cristene in tho partyes," &c. &c.

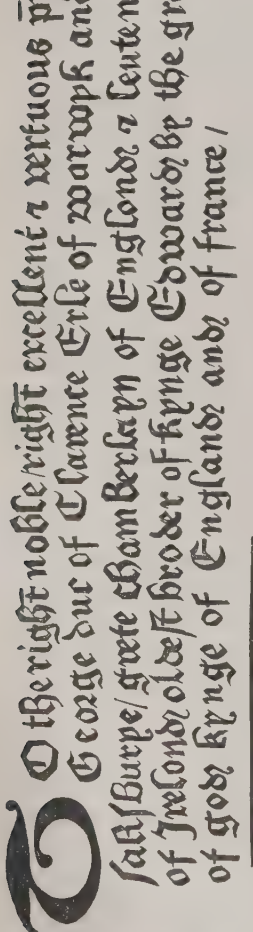
scale of great liberality and magnificence. As a nursery for this college the same monarch established the great school of Eton. The New Schools were also erected at Oxford, in 1439, by Thomas Hokenorton, Abbot of Osney, for the delivery of lectures in metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, astronomy and geometry, music, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, and grammar. The foundation of a divinity school and of a public library were laid in the same university, about 1427, which, when completed in 1480, formed the most magnificent building of which it had yet to boast; and public schools were also erected in Cambridge at the expense of the university. The first Scottish university — that of St. Andrew's — was founded early in this century, and was shortly afterwards followed by that of Glasgow.

9. Notwithstanding the inauspicious beginning of this age, yet from its close dates the revival of letters throughout the kingdoms of the West. This great crisis in the intellectual world arose chiefly from two events, the importance of either of which can hardly be overrated. The first was the influx of learned Greeks into the West, occasioned by the course of political events which at last ended in the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A. D. 1453. The new literature which these foreigners introduced, was hardly known to England, however, till the very close of this period. The second was the ever-memorable invention of the art of PRINTING, with which the world was blessed about the middle of the 15th century.*

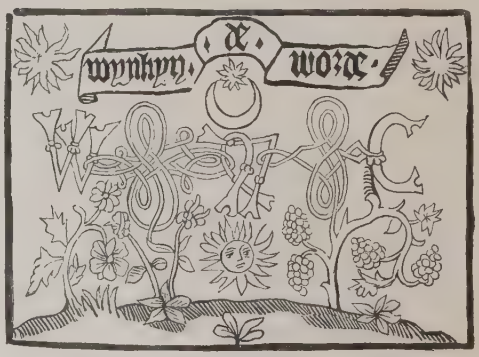
This great discovery had been practised nearly thirty years in Germany, before it was brought into either England or France. At length William Caxton, a native of

* The three towns of Haarlem, in Holland, and of Mayence and Strasburg, in Germany, contend for the honour of the discovery — the first asserting that one of its citizens, Laurence Coster, invented both printing and type-founding; whilst the Germans ascribe printing with moveable types to John Gutenberg, and of type-founding to Peter Schoeffer, with whom John Fust is usually associated as a companion.

the weald of Kent (born about 1412), and a citizen of London, having resided for some time in the Low Countries, learned the art, and there printed his first work in the year 1471. The earliest book supposed to have been printed by him in England, is the "Game and Playe of the Chesse," a folio volume, which is stated to have been "finished the last day of March, 1474." In 1477 he is certainly known to have had a press at work in the Almonry, near Westminster Abbey, where he continued to print, with indefatigable industry, till his death in 1491 or 1492. His pupils or assistants, Theodore Rood, John Lettow, William Machilena, and


To the right noble right excellent & vertuous prince George duc of Clarence Erle of warwyk and of Salysbury/ grete Chamberlayn of Englonde & lieutenant of Irelond oldest broder of kynge Edward by the grace of god kynge of Englande and of fraunce /

Specimen of Caxton's Printing — Dedication of the Book of Chess.



Printer's Mark of Wynkyn de Worde.

Wynkyn de Worde, foreigners, and Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, worthily maintained the honour of his name; and other presses were also soon established about the country. It is remarkable, as showing the spirit and taste of the age, that religious books and romances constitute the larger part of the works published by the great father of English printing.

Gower's, Chaucer's, and Lydgate's works were also produced, and some translations from the classics; but no works in the original Latin. The new art did not at first materially diminish the price of books; and MSS. and transcriptions long remained of as much value and cost as ever.

10. The increase of learning, which appeared in England during the 15th century, was much owing to the taste and exertions of Humphry, duke of Gloucester, and the Lords Worcester and Rivers, men distinguished not more for their own talents than for the liberal patronage which they bestowed upon men of genius. Science was as yet, however, but little understood; and the wild notions of astrology and alchemy still distracted most who turned their attention to mathematical or natural philosophy. Medicine and surgery seem to have made no further progress, although the operation of lithotomy was once performed successfully at Paris.

Nor were the literary productions of the age of a very high stamp, with the exception of the poems of King James I. of Scotland, whose *King's Quhair* (quire or *book*) is the most tender and elegant composition that remains to us between the time of Chaucer and of Spenser. Of seventy other English poets, John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, who flourished about the year 1430, is the only one worth mentioning, not only on account of his poetical genius, but also because his English approaches more nearly to that of modern times than can be found in any preceding writer.* The Life of Wallace by the well known minstrel, Blind Harry (about the close of the 15th century), deserves notice, however, as a specimen of vigorous versification, as well as of the peculiarities of the ancient Scottish dialect.

* A specimen of Lydgate's verse may be given on this account.

"Then unto London I did me hie,
Of all the land it beareth the price.
Hot peascods, one began to crie, —
Strawberry ripe and cherries in the rise.
One bad me come near and buy some spice —
Pepper and saffron they gan me beed,
But for lack of money I might not speed."

The orthography of the language was strangely unsettled even down to the time of Queen Elizabeth, every writer considering himself at liberty to put together any combination of letters which he thought would best express the sound, without any regard to the usage of other authors, or even of himself in a different place. Our French conquests and education, and the Latin church service, introduced, besides, many new words and changes of terms, to which some additions were purposely made, by men of learning, both from the Latin and from the Greek.

11. Among the Latin historians, Thomas Walsingham may be accounted the chief. He wrote a history of England, from 1273 to the accession of Henry VI.; and also one of Normandy. The Chronicon of John de Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Alban's, extending from 1441 to 1461, is also much esteemed. John Rouse, of Warwick, moreover, wrote a curious History of the Kings of England, which, with great propriety, begins at the creation of the world! There are some English chroniclers, too, amongst whom Caxton, the printer, may be reckoned. The English transactions in France are recorded by the French writers Monstrelet and Philip de Comines.

12. In this period the Romanesque character of architecture, which had been maintained, though with great variations, throughout the Norman style, entirely disappears, and the pure Gothic, as it is called, now takes its place. The difference between classical and Gothic architecture (forming, indeed, the greatest possible contrast) rests chiefly upon the predominance of horizontal lines in the former and of vertical in the latter. An observation of any building erected in the Grecian style, along with a church of the middle ages, will immediately present this fundamental distinction to the eye of the student. The introduction of the Roman arch was the first great step which led to such an alteration; and the peculiar construction of the Christian Basilica, with the general use of vaulted roofs, gradually led to the vertical principle of which Gothic architecture is the full development. This style, during the 13th century, was nearly uniform throughout the

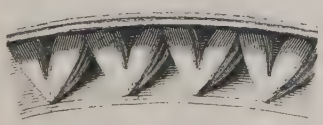
different countries of Europe; but after that time it diverges into various national peculiarities, which are nowhere more strongly marked than in our own island.

13. The character of the first or EARLY ENGLISH style, which prevailed throughout the 13th century, is that of great lightness and simplicity, and is strongly marked by the pointed lancet arch, the slender detached shafts, and the

Clustered Column and Foliated Capital — Bicester Church, Oxfordshire.

tapering spire into which the Norman pinnacle, or pointed roof, was now very generally elongated.

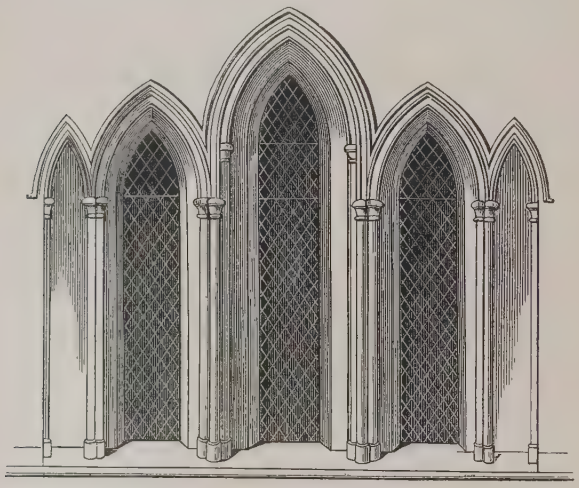
A peculiar ornament, called the dog's tooth moulding, belongs to this style, and the trefoil is largely used in the deco-



Dog-tooth Moulding.

rations. The roofing begins to advance, also, in richness. In the general arrangement of churches, the suppression of the apsis at the east end may be noticed, which was probably caused by the frequent addition of a Lady-chapel. At a later date the long and narrow window became broader, and was

divided into two or even four lights, with foliated circles in the heads, which indicate the transition to the succeeding or DECORATED style.



Early English Lancet Window, Beverley Minster.

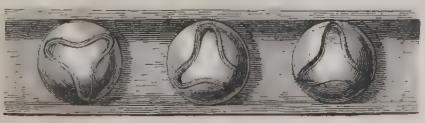
Early English Transition Window, St. Giles's, Oxford.

This style, which prevailed during the 14th century, derives its name from the greater abundance of chaste ornament than

was usual in the preceding age, and, from its graceful lines and flowing tracery, has been generally considered the most beautiful species of English architecture. The lancet arch is now rarely seen; and the enlarged heads of the windows are filled with the geometrical or flowing tracery which forms the chief characteristic of the style. At this time the great east and

Decorated Window — Llan Tysilio Church, Anglesey.

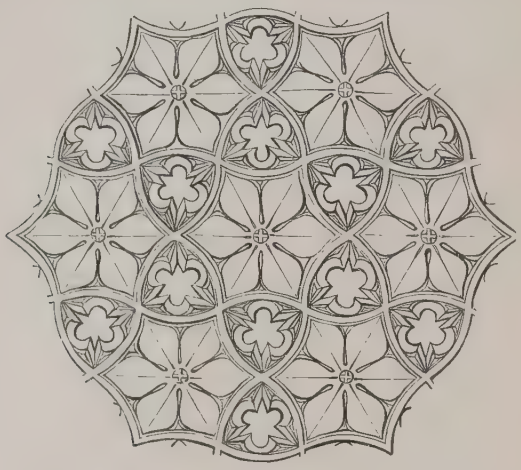
west windows were introduced in England, which is a striking deviation from the continental Gothic, the west fronts of which depend for their effect upon their lofty and gorgeous portals and wheel-windows. The shafts of the piers are no longer detached from the main columns, but worked in the same stone, forming a perfect clustered pillar. The capitals are more varied, and the foliage is much more rich and natural than before. One ornament, called the ball-flower, is altogether peculiar to the mouldings of this period.



Ball-flower Ornament.

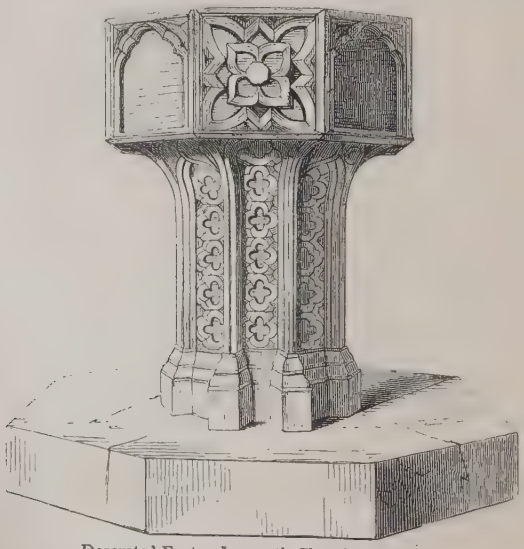
The vaulting of the roofs continues to advance in decoration; and, on the outside, open parapets come into use, surrounded

by battlements, either plain or pierced. The gradation to the style which follows, or from the Early English to this, is,



Diaper Work in Stone, A.D. 1304 — Canterbury Cathedral.

however, extremely gradual, and can only be clearly traced

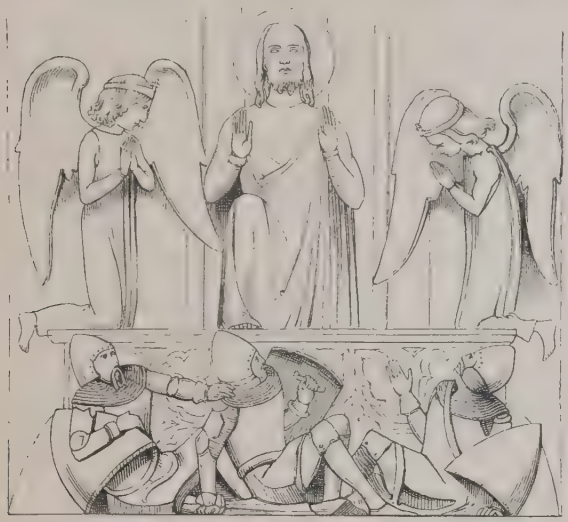


Decorated Font — Ingworth Church, Norfolk.

through the examples afforded by a period when the change was fully completed. The architects of the 13th and 14th

centuries added materially to our national monuments, many parts of our finest cathedrals having been erected during those ages.

14. Great alterations took place, during the Early English era, in the style of sepulchral monuments. The first change was the general adoption of the altar-tomb — a flat raised table, on which the recumbent effigy of the dead is placed. The flat gravestone, with the inscription deeply cut and filled with metal, was also introduced very early in the 13th century; so that the coffin *en dos d'ane* became generally superseded. The next important step was the enriched monumental canopy,



Sculpture of the 14th century, temp. Edward III. — Chapel on Wakefield Bridge, Yorkshire.

of which many magnificent specimens remain. The art of statuary advanced in a corresponding degree, and the effigies on tombs are now sculptured with equal grace and spirit. Basso-relievo was also cultivated with extreme success; and Flaxman pronounces the figures on the front of Wells Cathedral to be not inferior to the best compositions of Italian art. This is the more pleasing, as there is some reason to suppose that few but native artists were employed in England till a later period. During the 14th century, however, sculpture seems to have somewhat declined. Sepulchral brasses ap-

pear to have been adopted about the middle of the 13th century; the earliest known specimen being that at Stoke Dabernon, in Surrey, which is supposed to be the memorial of Sir John D'Aubernon, who died in 1277. Next to this occur the brasses of Sir Roger de Trumpington, in Trumpington Church, Cambridgeshire, A.D. 1289; of Robert de Buers, at Acton, Suffolk, about 1302; and of one ecclesiastic, Adam Bacon, at Oulton, also in Suffolk. The earliest specimens are extremely beautiful, and were probably all engraved in England, although the metal itself was imported from Germany and Flanders, there being no manufactory of brass in England till the year 1639.

Of painting there was now a profusion in private houses, where it completely superseded the ancient hangings of needlework; and the first notice occurs of painting on glass — of which there were several windows executed in the Tower of London and at Nottingham Castle — during the 13th century. These were worked in small medallions of different forms, inlaid upon a mosaic of various patterns and of the most brilliant colours. Beautiful scroll or arabesque work succeeded; and, in the 14th century, figures of larger size were introduced, standing in niches, decorated with canopies, columns, and buttresses. Painted glass was also not unfrequently used in ordinary houses.

15. Before passing to the next era of ecclesiastical architecture, it may be well to notice the state of castellated and domestic buildings previous to the 15th century. Castle-building receives a new character with the reign of Edward I., when the warlike fortress begins to unite some of the magnificence and comforts of the social palace. Perhaps the latest building constructed with Norman solidity, and for real purposes of defence, is Guy's Tower, at Warwick, erected by Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the reign of Richard II.* Windsor Castle is also partly of this age. This had always been a royal residence, but was rebuilt and greatly

* The machecoulis, a contrivance for casting missiles on the enemy through the apertures of parapets projected upon corbel stones, belongs to the time of Edward I., and was retained as a picturesque ornament long after it had ceased to be of any real use.

enlarged by Edward III., who employed, as his architect, William of Wykeham, afterwards the thrice-noble Bishop of Winchester.

Towards the close of the 13th century the embattled and moated manor-house made its appearance, of which Stoke

A House of the 14th Century — Illum. MS. in British Museum.

Castle, in Shropshire, may be taken as an existing specimen. Houses of a meaner description are as yet very simple in their outlines, but the decorations are often elegant and highly finished. Specimens may still be seen in the city of Lincoln.

16. Of other arts it may be observed that chairs and tables, bedsteads*, and other furniture were constructed with great elegance, in the style of the pointed architecture of the day. One of the most interesting examples is the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey, called the Chair of St. Edward, in which all our sovereigns have been crowned since the days of Edward II. Clocks, or horloges, that struck and chimed the hour, are mentioned as early as the close of the 13th century, as part of the furniture of a mansion. The workers

* In speaking of beds we may remark that the earlier coverlet was called a *pane*, either from pannus, *a cloth*, or from panneau, *a square or pane of glass*, with which the diamond pattern of the modern quilt agrees. This was succeeded by the *counterpane*, contrepointé, or cloth having the knotted threads stitched through.

in metal seem to have retained all their ancient celebrity, and silver and gold plate was wrought with great richness and taste.* A pair of knives, with silver sheaths, enamelled, and a fork of crystal, are mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I. Forks are said, indeed, to have been used in Italy so early as 1330, but they were not employed at table in England till the reign of James I. Fire-screens, and fire-dogs with feet and stands, were also now manufactured.

Little cloth was made in this country, and that of a coarse description, till Edward III., in 1331, invited over weavers, dyers, and fullers, from Flanders, who established the first manufactory of fine woollen cloths. Foreign goods, however, long continued to be imported in considerable quantities. A list of the forty-eight trades or "mysteries" of London, under the same monarch, presents most of the ordinary employments of civilised society, along with some which belong only to a purely warlike period. Of the more elegant occupations, music seems to have made the least progress, although it was still very generally practised.

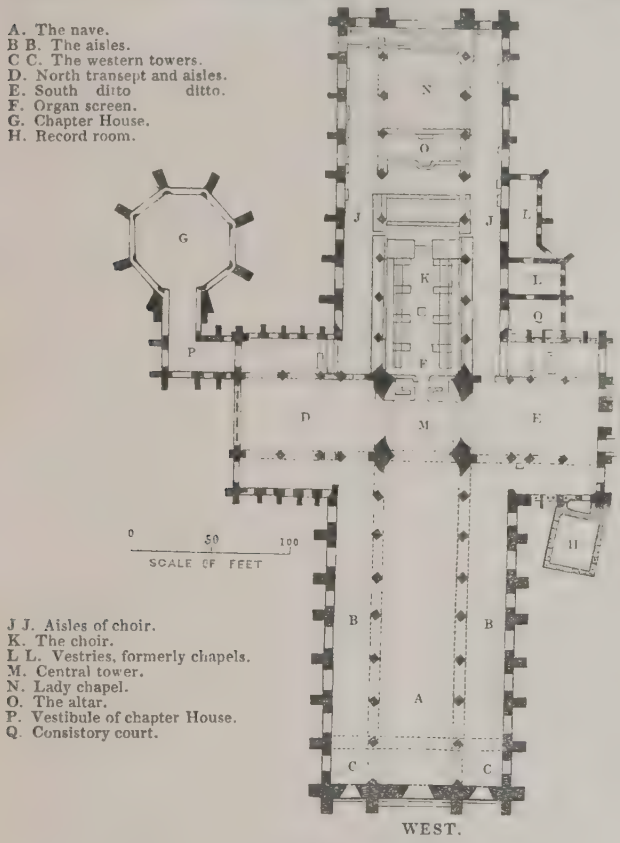
17. To the 15th century belongs more exclusively the merit of having produced the PERPENDICULAR or florid style of architecture, although traces of its peculiar character may be found so early as 1377, and continue to be observed as late as the middle of the 16th century. This eminently *English* style has received one of its distinguishing names from the profusion and minuteness of its ornamental detail; and the other (by which it is now best known) from the perpendicular direction of the mullions in the windows, and of the subdivisions in their heads.

Panelling is the grand source of ornament in this style, and the interior of most rich buildings presents only a series of panels. A peculiar arch, called the depressed, four-centred,

* One article of plate deserves attention as probably giving rise to the title of the Hanaper office of the court of Chancery. In this office writs are preserved, anciently (as has been generally supposed) in a *hamper;* but it appears that in the 14th century the term *hanapes* was applied to vessels of silver with lids; perhaps from *hand*, and *napf*, a bowl, bason, or porringer.

or Tudor arch, now makes its appearance, along with numerous square heads over the door-ways, and vaulted roofs of very elaborate fan-tracery.

The architects of this age depended chiefly upon the multiplicity of parts for richness of effect, and heraldic sculptures, in



Plan of York Minster.

particular, are introduced in profusion. Thus in the chapel of Henry VII., at Westminster Abbey, the whole history of his royal descent and connexion with both branches of the house of Plantagenet is indicated by the heraldic insignia which appear on every part. The lion of England, the dragon of Cadwallader, and the greyhound of York may be

seen on the buttresses and turrets, whilst the portcullis of his maternal ancestry of Beaufort, with the rose and fleur-de-

Perpendicular Window — New College Chapel, Oxford.

lis, cover the walls. To these are added the Yorkist cognisance of the falcon and fetterlock, and the Lancastrian device

Wooden Roof — St. Mary's, Leicester.

of the *Marguerite*, or daisy, adopted by his mother, the Countess of Richmond.

The open timber roofs are now far more numerous and richly ornamented than before, and aid in producing that great lightness of construction which is a peculiar characteristic of the style. The wooden screens and stalls, also, which have existed to the present day, generally belong to this century.

The greatest work of the age is the nave of Canterbury, which was begun in 1400. The west tower of York was also erected in 1402, besides other beautiful buildings too numerous to mention. The minor additions and alterations received by our churches during this period are so extensive that full one half of the windows in the kingdom have been conjectured to be of Perpendicular character.

Monumental architecture partook largely of the sumptuous style of the day: the canopies over tombs were expanded into small chapels, or chantries, and ornamented with extraordinary care; and the greater part of the sepulchral brasses in our churches belong to this and the succeeding century.

18. The distinction between castellated and domestic buildings begins now to be lost; although an appearance of defence was still kept up in many mansions. In houses of a smaller class the domestic character predominates, and many are built in a highly ornamental style, of which the projecting oriel or bay-window forms a principal feature. For the accommodation of the numerous crowds of retainers, every mansion of consequence was provided with abundance of bed-rooms and offices, and a great hall, with a raised dais at the upper end for the master of the feast. The internal fittings were still in a rude state, but the chimney-pieces were often richly carved, particularly with armorial bearings and devices.

A curious circumstance is the revival of building with brick, which is used in at least two castles and one great hall of this period. The art of making the Roman brick was probably never lost in England, for it is found during the Norman period under circumstances which seem to preclude the notion that it was the mere spoil of demolished Roman buildings; but it was superseded by the Flemish brick (used to this day) perhaps so early as Edward II. Tiles were certainly

made at all periods, but brick constructions of a date earlier than Richard II. are of extreme rarity.

The inns or town-houses of the great nobles were now of considerable extent, so as to lodge, upon occasion, from 500 to 1000 men. The names of several of these mansions still remain; but a portion of one building alone has been preserved, namely, Crosby Hall, in Bishopsgate Street, built in 1466. Timber was profusely employed in street houses, of which Coventry still presents some very fine examples.

Old Timber Houses in Coventry.

19. Painting in the 15th century did not keep pace with its sister arts; and the illuminators of MSS. were almost the only artists who deserved the name. Some specimens of statuary are, however, extremely well executed. Early in the century music began to show something of its proper character, and was carefully practised by every person of liberal education. The victory of Agincourt (A. D. 1415) gave birth to the first known English piece which can be considered as a regular musical composition. It is preserved

in the Pepysian collection, Magdalen College, Cambridge.* The minstrel profession was regularly chartered by Edward IV. in 1469; and its members were at that time well paid, and of respectable position in society.

Painted Glass of the 15th Century — Great Malvern Church, Worcestershire.†

20. Woollen cloths continued to be manufactured in great quantities, although not of the finest sorts; and worsted and silk were also woven. Artisans of all kinds, and especially

* The following are the words of this old piece: —

"Oure kynge went forth to Normandy,
With grace and mygt of chyvalry;
The God for hym wrougt marvlusly,
Wherefore Englande may calle and cry,
Deo Gratias! Anglia!
Redde pro victoria!"

† Subject, the grant of Edward the Confessor to the church.

workers in the metals, were both numerous and highly valued.* Among the new articles of English manufacture may now be mentioned gunpowder and guns, which occur in a license of export granted in 1411. Collieries were also much more generally worked, and the trade of the fisherman was briskly plied both in the rivers and seas of Britain.†

The rates of wages were often regulated by statute, and the prices of manufactured articles very arbitrarily fixed. The most remarkable restriction, perhaps, is that on the number of attorneys in Norfolk and Suffolk, who were limited to six for each county, and two in the city of Norwich, on account of their improper practices in "coming to every fair, market, or other places where there is any assembly of people, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to attempt untrue and foreign suits for small trespasses, little offences, and small sums of debt."

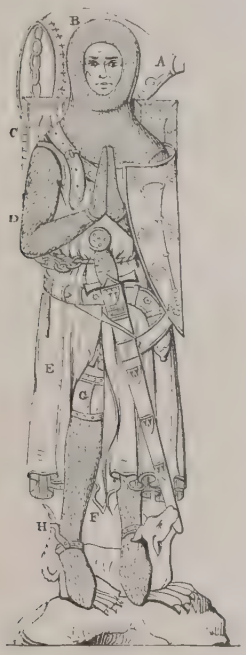
* The armourer and goldsmith were in particular esteem. The latter tradesman seems already to have practised some of the peculiar tricks of his craft, for an act passed in 1403 strictly prohibits the gilding or silvering of copper or latten cups and ornaments, unless for churches, because of "many fraudulent artificers imagining to deceive the common people."

† Dugdale mentions with particular unction a certain great pie made of four breams caught in the pools of Sutton Coldfield Chase, which was sent to the Earl of Warwick in Yorkshire (A. D. 1453), the cost of which was 16*s.*, including the wages of two men employed for three days in taking them, the flour and spices for baking, and the charge of their conveyance. The price of a bream was then 20*d.*, and the pools of Sutton were rented at 120 breams, or 10*l.* yearly. The herring fair at Yarmouth was also well attended and of great note.

CHAPTER IV.

NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. THE armour of the 13th century was materially altered in the succeeding age, by the gradual admixture of iron plate with the various sorts of old Norman mail. At first it was confined to caps for the knees, and guards for the shoulders



A. Helm, or Heaume. On its apex is a staple for appending the kerchief of pleasaunce, and it is furnished with a chain attached to the girdle, to secure it if knocked off in a fray.

B. Coif de mailles.

C. Ailettes for the shoulders.

D. Hauberk.

E. Surcoat.

F. Chausses de mailles.

G Genouillieres, or knee-pieces, of iron plate.

H. Spur, with single point, slightly bent upwards.

Armour of the 13th Century.*

and elbows. Greaves for the legs occur at an early period, but not frequently, the hands and feet being still covered chiefly with mail. Mail gloves were now divided into fingers,

* From the sepulchral brass (in Trumpington Church, Cambridgeshire) of Sir Roger de Trumpington, a crusader, about 1290. This is one of the earliest extant specimens of such brasses in England.

and leather gauntlets were occasionally worn, but as yet without iron plates. Quilted or padded armour of silk, buckram, &c., named pourpoint or counterpoint, came still more into use; and chain mail, properly so called, is supposed to have been introduced from Asia, under Henry III. It is not improbable, however, that it had been known at an earlier date.

Over the chain shirt was worn a surcoat, or cyclas, of silk and rich stuffs, which was in after times emblazoned with the arms of the wearer; this came down to the middle of the leg, and the edges were often fancifully scalloped. A heavy barrel-shaped helmet, with an aperture for sight, cut in the transverse bar of a cross, covered the whole head, and rested on the shoulders of the well-armed knight; whilst skullcaps of various forms, with or without nasals, were worn by the common men-at-arms. The archers wore mail jackets, or habergeons, with sleeves reaching to the elbow, over which were strong vests of leather, defended by four circular iron plates.

The armorial bearings of the knight were emblazoned on his banner, which was oblong, or on the pennon, a triangular standard; over his shield, which was flat and triangular in shape, and along the housings of his horse. The helmet, too, came in time to bear the heraldic crest, and was adorned, besides, with a gay kerchief or scarf. The rowelled spur is first met with under Henry III., but did not become general till the reign of Edward I.

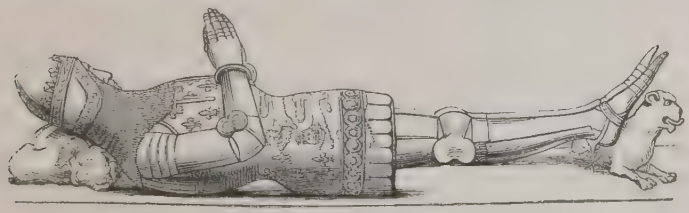
To the offensive weapons were added the falchion, a peculiarly-shaped broad-bladed sword; the estoc, a small stabbing sword; the anelace, a broad tapering dagger; the coutel or coutelas (whence our *cutlass*); the mace, and perhaps the cimetar, both the last being of Oriental origin.

2. Towards the close of the reign of Edward I. a curious ornament was added in a pair of plates, fastened to the shoulders, square, oblong, or round in shape, and decorated with the wearer's arms, or a St. George's cross. These ailettes, or *little wings*, disappeared under Edward II., in whose reign the mass of plate was increased by greaves for

the legs, brassarts, and vanbraces (*avant bras*) for the arms; and mamalieres, or round plates, fastened on the breast, over

Mail and Plate Armour. (From a Window at Tewkesbury.)

the surcoat. From these breast-plates were hung by chains the sword of the knight and his helmet, which last was now only worn in actual battle, when it was placed over the usual headpiece, called a bascinet, the successor of the old



Effigy of the Black Prince at Canterbury.

chapel de fer, which, with its nasal, disappears about this time. A neckguard of chain, called the camail, was fastened

to the edge of the bascinet, and, falling upon the shoulders, left a shield-shaped opening for the face. Sometimes a vizor was worn with it, in which case the helmet was not required.

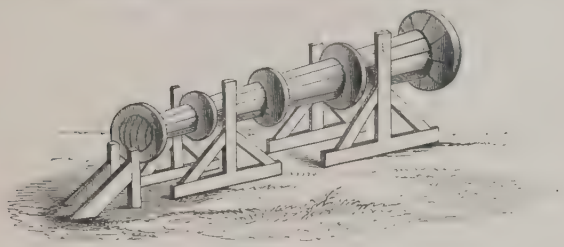
During the 14th century plate armour begins to supersede the mail almost entirely. The legs and arms were soon completely defended by plate, gussets of mail being only worn under the arm and at the bend of the elbow. The feet were guarded by pointed shoes, formed of over-lapping steel plates, called sollerets, and the leathern gauntlets were similarly cased on the backs with steel. On the knuckles were placed small spikes or knobs, called gads or gadlings; a breast-plate, called a plastron, kept the chain shirt from pressing on the chest, or a pair of plates for back and breast rendered it altogether superfluous; and then a short apron of chain alone hung from the waist over the hips. The surcoat was gradually replaced by an upper garment called a jupon or guipon, made of velvet, and richly embroidered with the wearer's arms. This was confined at the waist by a magnificent belt, to which, on the right side, was hung a dagger, on the left a sword.

3. Under Richard II. a moveable vizor was attached to the bascinet, which was henceforth exclusively worn in war, the great helmet with its crest and wreath being reserved for the stately tournament. The cuisses or thigh pieces were often covered with pourpoint, and thick leathern gaiters worn on the legs. The triangular shield began about the close of this reign to be rounded off at the bottom, and a nick was made in it at the top or at one side, called the bouche (*mouth*), which served as a rest for the lance.

4. The use of fire-arms in war is probably as old as the time of Edward III. The Scottish poet Barbour speaks of two "noveltyes" used by the English while fighting against his countrymen in 1327, of which one was "crakys of war. Ducange shows that the French employed cannon in 1338, and a contemporary Italian writer mentions four cannons being used with great effect by Edward III. at the battle of Crecy. This circumstance is not, however, alluded to by Froissart. An ancient cannon which was raised from the Goodwin Sands

is supposed, from a coat-of-arms on it, to have been made about 1370.

Old English Cannon, formerly in the Tower of London.



Ancient Cannon, and Mode of Mounting. (From Froissart — Royal MS.)

5. The spirit of knightly chivalry attained its highest and most complete development from the time of Edward I. to that of Edward III. Its effects upon the national mind, or more properly, perhaps, upon the minds of the nobility, were undoubtedly good; it inspired a thousand generous thoughts and heroic actions, and laid the foundation of that most perfect character, the true English gentleman; but it often degenerated into the oddest extravagancies, and gave additional fierceness to the most savage passions. Thus the knights who joined one of Edward's French expeditions are recorded to have gravely worn a patch over one eye, under a vow that it should not be removed till they had performed some deed of arms worthy of their mistresses; and the splendid arena of the tournament was frequently defiled with the most reckless and brutal slaughter. Edward III., who saw in chivalry an agent well suited to his mighty schemes of conquest, established a Round Table at Windsor of 200 feet in diameter, at which his knights were feasted with vast expense, and instituted the Order of the Garter, the ceremonies of which were performed with great magnificence.

6. Passages of arms were either held by a baron in his

own tilt yard for the entertainment of his friends; or a certain number of knights formed themselves into a band, to contend with all comers; or a simple joust was tried by two

Knights jousting. (Royal MS.)

knights upon a challenge issued to each other "in all love and courtesy." Sometimes the danger of the sport was increased by a choice of rough ground, or a narrow bridge with a deep river beneath, into which a single false step might precipitate the combatants. The display of taste and splendour at a tournament was extremely great, the armour and accoutrements of the knights were of the richest description, and the scaffolds erected for the accommodation of the noble spectators were heavy with embroidery of gold and silver. The jousts were performed generally with headless lances, and the great aim was the vizor or crest, which were very difficult to hit. The loss of a stirrup was counted a defeat.

In the tournament proper or mêlée the disabled knights were dragged by their victors to the extremities of the lists, where they remained as prisoners until one side or the other was so weakened by captures as to desist from the combat. In the midst of their fiercest excitement, however, the voice of the president, when he threw down his warder and cried "Ho!" was sufficient to put an end to the conflict. Rich prizes were then distributed by some fair lady to the victorious knights, and the night was spent in feasting and dancing.

7. In connexion with these martial sports the ordeal combats seem to have become more frequent under Richard II., and regulations for these judicial duels were formally settled by that king's uncles. In a place appointed by the king the combatants (having first sworn that they "dealt with no

witchcraft, nor art magic, nor had about them any herb, stone, or other kind of experiment wherewith magicians use to triumph over their enemies") were to fight, first with spears, then with swords, and lastly with daggers (or, in the case of plebeians, with quarter-staves with sand-bags at the ends) till one or the other died, or confessed his guilt.

8. Under Henry V. the final change at length takes place from mail to complete plate armour; the camail is superseded by the haussecol or steel gorget; and the mail apron by a set of long horizontal steel plates, called taces or tassets, extending from the waist to about the middle of the thigh; the armpits were guarded by circular steel palettes hung on points or tags; and even the jupon and surcoat were occasionally discarded. Over the pauldrons (or shoulder plates), however, long scalloped sleeves of rich stuff, or a cloak with such sleeves attached, were still worn. The vizored bascinet alone was used in actual war, and was furnished with a small pipe, into which was now first inserted the pennache, or plume of feathers. Of these knights are said to have worn three, king's esquires two, and all other esquires a single feather; but this is uncertain.

The armour of Henry VI. and Edward IV. is marked by the addition of the sallet and the casquette to the list of head-pieces. The breast-plate is now often composed of two pieces, the lower one, called the placard, rising to a point in the centre, and fastened over the other with a screw or ornamental buckle. One or both of these plates were covered with silk of different colours. A jazerant jacket was now also worn, composed of small over-lapping plates of iron covered with velvet, the gilt heads of the rivets which secured the plates coming through, and forming the exterior ornament. Plates called tuilles, hanging from the tasses or skirts of the armour, over an apron of chain mail, first appear under Henry VI. The jupon was superseded by the loose tabard, or coat of arms, toward the close of the reign of Edward IV. The spurs were now screwed into the heels of the sollerets, instead of being fastened by straps, and were made of an enormous size. Under Richard III. the paul-

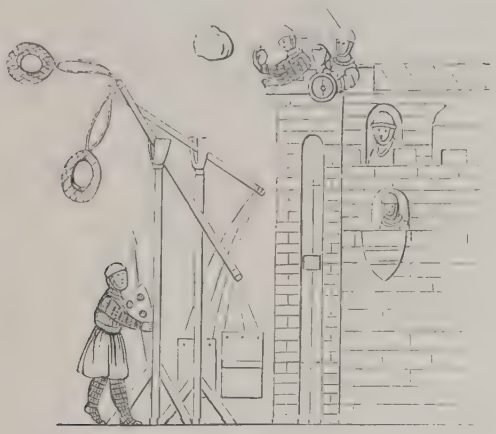
drons, or shoulder-plates, appear very large; the elbow and knee-pieces shaped like a fan and elaborately wrought; the breast-plate globular, and the sallet encircled with a wreath of the wearer's colours and a single feather at the side.

Armour — temp. Richard III.
Effigy of Sir Thomas Peyton — Isleham Church, Cambridgeshire.

During the latter half of the 15th century, we find among the new weapons of offence, the langue-de-bœuf, a species of sword, so called from its shape; the halbert, of the same form as at present; the genetaire, a kind of Spanish lance, and especially that which was yet to take the place of them all, the hand-gun, or hand-cannon, as it was originally called. This instrument was used by the Flemings, who landed with Edward IV. in 1471, and was improved under Richard III. into the hackbut or harquebus.*

* Arquebus is said to be derived from the Italian arca-bouza (corrupted from *bocca*) signifying *a bow with a mouth*. Hackbut, or hagbush, is perhaps from the old German hakenbüsche, *a hook and a gun*, or any cylindrical vessel.

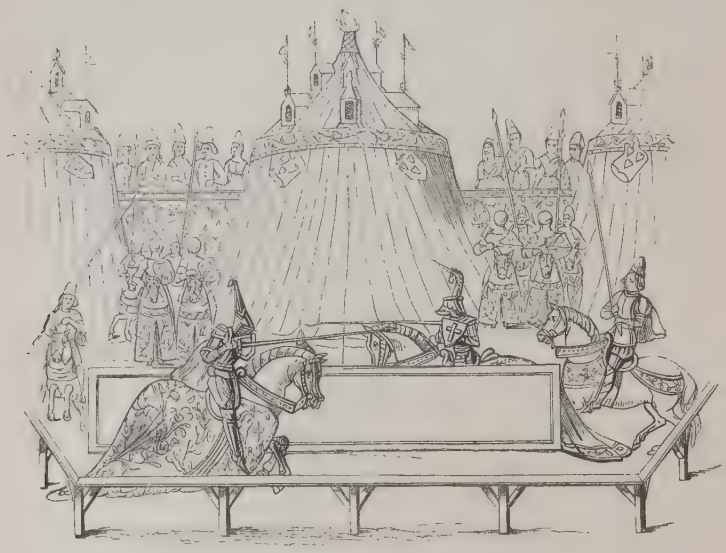
The art of attacking fortified places was now closely studied, and its various manœuvres, such as drawing lines of circumvallation, making approaches by entrenchments and mines, and direct assaults by battering engines, artillery, and moveable towers, filled with archers and men-at-arms, were constantly practised, and with great success.



Machine for throwing Stones—temp. Henry III.

9. From the time of Edward III. the spirit of chivalry began to decline, and continued to do so with rapidity throughout the 15th century. The few combats that now occurred were generally judicial encounters upon charges of treason or other criminal accusations; the tournaments were less frequently held, and with little spirit, and their ancient attendants, the minstrel and the herald, were now but slightly valued. This change arose naturally out of the alterations in the character both of war and of society. Gunpowder and improved military manœuvres had lessened the importance of individual valour, and the civil wars of the Roses had left no time or disposition for sports even of a martial character. Probably, too, the bulk of the people had acquired a more thoughtful turn since the invention of printing and the rise of free religious enquiry, and the monarchs of the time were too deeply engaged in the bitter realities of war to devote much attention to its mere semblances.

Edward IV., indeed, endeavoured to revive tilts and tourneys, but with little effect. A code of laws for the



Tournament. (Harl. MS.)

tournament was, however, drawn up by the famous John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and constable of England, which contains a number of minute but spiritless regulations. The security of the tilters was now better provided for by the introduction of barriers, on either side of which they ran, thus avoiding the heavy shock of the war steeds in full caparison; and by degrees the renowned passage of arms sank into a mere display of skill in horsemanship and the use of the lance.

10. An all-important discovery in naval affairs was made towards the close of the 12th century, in the mariner's compass*, which was probably in common use by the middle of the 13th. Although we have not much information on the

* Flavio Gioja, of Amalfi, in Italy, is supposed to have been the first who attached a card divided into points to the needle, but he seems to have only marked eight. The people of Bruges are said to have introduced the present thirty-two points of the compass.

subject, this great invention no doubt soon gave a great impulse to navigation. Henry III. had some ships of his own, and Edward I. probably possessed a considerable navy; in his reign, at least, the title of Admiral first occurs.

Ship of the Time of Richard II. (Harl. MS.)

The dominion of the four seas was first distinctly claimed by Edward III.; and the Cinque Ports were bound by their charter to have fifty-seven ships in readiness at all times for the king's service. The fleet which that monarch employed at the siege of Calais, in 1346, consisted of 25 ships of his own, carrying 419 mariners; 37 foreign ships, with 780 men; 1 vessel from Ireland, carrying 25 sailors; and 710 pressed barks from English ports, the crews of which amounted to 14,151 persons. None of these, perhaps, were of any great size, for a ship manned by thirty men, which was fitted out at Yarmouth in 1254, to carry over Prince Edward to the Continent, is spoken of with admiration for its singular magnitude. In 1360, Edward III., in an order for pressing all

the vessels in the kingdom upon a contemplated expedition, directed that the largest should be able to carry forty mariners, forty men-at-arms, and sixty archers.

English Ship of War of the 15th Century. (Harl. MS.)

Henry V., however, built some large dromons at Southampton; and his own vessel, the "King's Chamber," was fitted up with great sumptuousness, and carried a sail of purple silk, with the arms of England and France embroidered on it. The ships of the 15th century were, indeed, of considerable size; and under Edward IV. we find barks mentioned of 400, 500, and even 900 tons; but they were still very clumsily built, with only a great square sail or two, which was lowered down to the deck, or propelled by oars, as in the case of the boats known by the name of galleys. Towards the close of the latter monarch's reign the crown was possessed of no fewer than six ships of its own; probably the greatest royal navy that England had seen since the days of the Conqueror.

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

1. THE history of commerce during this period is the history of incessant checks and restrictions, as incessantly overcome by the indomitable spirit of trade with which the national mind becomes by degrees more and more strongly imbued. One of the causes which retarded our early English commerce may be found in the constant variations of the Staple, a term which occurs very prominently in the foreign mercantile transactions of the age. The Staple appears originally to have meant a particular port, or other place to which certain commodities (such as wool, tin, leather, &c., hence called staple goods) were brought to be weighed or measured for the imposition of customs' duties previous to being exported or sold. The exporters of such articles were incorporated under Edward II. as Merchants of the Staple, and possessed, at first, the power of fixing the place or staple whither alone their goods were to be carried for sale. This privilege was soon, however, assumed by the king and the legislature, whose interferences rapidly became both constant and arbitrary. These continual changes of the market-place and of its regulations must have been very oppressive to the merchants who dealt in staple goods.

Another prerogative exercised by the crown was that of restricting all mercantile dealings whatever for a certain time to one particular place; the object being, no doubt, to grasp more readily the tolls and other dues of the favoured market. Thus Henry III., in 1245, proclaimed a fair to be held for fifteen days at Westminster, during which time all other fairs throughout England were suspended, and the London traders obliged to shut up their shops, and carry their goods to Westminster for sale.

2. The peculiar national jealousy of foreigners contributed

also to shackle the energies of trade, in the profits of which the English were unwilling that any strangers should share. Thus, in 1261, a law was passed to prohibit the exportation of wool, and enforce the wearing of home-made cloth, although it could not as yet be made of sufficient fineness. This restriction, however, was not of very long continuance; and all subsequent attempts to stop the natural intercourse between the English producers and the Flemish manufacturers were equally unsuccessful.

Oppressive and troublesome enactments were, however, constantly imposed upon foreigners even when admitted to the English market, and none were allowed to reside in the country, except by special license from the king, till the time of Edward I. Even then the whole body of foreign residents were still held liable for the debts or crimes of any individual amongst them. In 1353, however, this law was altered by the Statute of the Staple, although the practice was not wholly discontinued till long afterwards.

Edward I. imposed another strange restriction upon foreign trade, by prohibiting (A. D. 1307) either coined money or bullion to be carried out of the kingdom on any account, which obliged the stranger merchants either to barter their goods for the produce of the country, or, having sold them, to invest the proceeds in other goods before they could return home. Although this statute long continued to be regarded as law, exemptions were frequently granted, and evasions continually practised, till at length permission was given, under Richard II., to carry away one half of the money for which the goods were sold; and under Henry IV. the law itself was annulled, as being "hurtful and prejudicial, as well for the king and his realm as for the said merchants, aliens, and strangers." It is curious enough, that whilst the exportation of solid metal was thus prohibited, the prices of commodities might yet be exported freely under the form of bills of exchange, which, by preventing money from coming in, had just the same effect as if it had been actually carried abroad.

Foreign cloths were also ordered, under Edward III., to be measured by the king's aulnagers, and all that were not of a certain specified length and breadth were forfeited to the

king — a regulation which was, however, repealed, per force, long before the close of his reign.

3. The laws against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing, *i. e.* against buying up large quantities of corn or provisions, and keeping them till a time of scarcity, when, of course, they must command a much higher price, belong also to this period, the first having been passed under either Henry III. or Edward I. These laws were formally renewed and extended under Edward VI., and were not finally repealed till the 12th Geo. III.

The assize (or assessment from time to time) of bread and ale is of prior date, but the oldest extant law upon the subject is commonly assigned to the 51st Henry III. By this assize the prices of bread and ale were determined, on a scale regulated according to the market prices of grain, so that the prices really fixed were those of baking and brewing. It was re-enacted at the beginning of the 18th century, and was only abolished in London about thirty years ago. In the case of other articles, such as wine, fish, wood, coal, &c., the assize was perfectly arbitrary, without any reference to occasional circumstances. In connexion with these regulations for provisions may be placed the acts passed to fix the wages of labour, by which the justices of peace were every year to declare, "according to the dearth of victuals," how much every artisan or labourer should charge for his work by the day, whether in harvest or at other times.

4. The progress of English commerce was, however, very considerable during the 13th and 14th centuries. The number of ships was greatly increased, and many ports throughout the kingdom possessed nearly as many vessels as the port of London itself. They were not, however, of very large size. The most ancient record presenting a general view of our foreign trade is preserved in the Exchequer, and bears the date of 1354. The total value of the exports therein mentioned is 212,338*l.* 5*s.*, and the duties paid on them 81,846*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* These would seem to have been derived almost wholly from wool, which constituted about thirteen-fourteenths of the whole exports, and was taxed at upwards of 40 per

cent. on its value. The total value of the imports is 38,383*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* It may be added that the imports do not contain one single article of raw material, whilst the exports are almost entirely made up of such articles, showing the singular inferiority of England, at that time, as a manufacturing country. It is probable, however, that this record only contains the goods on which customs' duties were levied, for it does not mention tin, lead, butter, &c., in which a considerable trade was nevertheless carried on.

Corn appears to have been sometimes exported, sometimes imported, but seemingly never without the special license of the Crown. Its export was accordingly sometimes encouraged, sometimes discouraged.

The frequent use of coal as an article both of foreign trade and domestic consumption may, probably, be referred to this time; the earliest authentic document in which it is distinctly mentioned being an order of Henry III. in 1245. The smoke or smell of a coal fire was then thought to be highly noxious, and a proclamation was issued in 1306 forbidding its use, which, however, was not very long regarded. Newcastle-upon-Tyne was from the outset the great seat of the coal trade.

The chief staple of the kingdom was undoubtedly wool, which was in great request amongst the manufacturers of France and Flanders. In 1331, Edward III. invited weavers, dyers, and fullers from Flanders, to settle in this country, and teach their trades to his subjects, which was accepted by several artisans, who introduced the manufacture of fine woollen cloth. It was long before it became general, however, and large quantities of wool still continued to go abroad. In 1391 the customs on such exportation amounted to 160,000*l.*, which is said to have been a considerable falling off from former years.

5. The principal society of foreign merchants at this time established in England, appears to have been that of the merchants of Cologne, who had a guildhall or factory in London, and permission to attend fairs in any part of England; but the greater part of the foreign trade was in the hands of the native merchants of the staple, otherwise called the Merchants of England. A singular plan was proposed

to Richard II. in 1379, by a wealthy merchant of Genoa: he suggested that Southampton should be made the deposit and mart of all the Oriental goods, which the Genoese used to carry to Flanders, Normandy, and Bretagne; so that those countries should be wholly supplied from England. It is not clear what advantage the Italian importers of these goods would have reaped from this scheme, which was, however, soon put a stop to by the murder of the projector in the streets of London, probably by the hand of some jealous rival. It is remarkable, however, that Southampton should now be the port from which our most constant communication with the East is kept up.

Spices and fruits were then the chief commodities of the Eastern trade, silk being produced and manufactured in the south of Europe for the Western market. Both Scotland and Ireland shared considerably in the commerce of this time, especially the latter country.

6. The incorporation of several of the great city companies now took place, and these soon reckoned both the nobility and royalty of the kingdom amongst their honorary members. Much of the trade of the country was transacted, however, at fairs and markets, and even the great London establishments in the Cheap were more like stalls than shops, whilst their owners travelled occasionally from place to place. The mercers, who lived between Bow Church and Friday Street, dealt in drugs, spices, and all kinds of small wares; and the drapers were originally makers, not sellers, of cloth. The haberdashers dealt in a great variety of articles; and one branch, from selling goods of Milan, were called by the special name of milliners. The division of employments, however, was most complete in the woollen manufactures.

In the provincial towns trade was conducted on a petty scale. Under Edward III., Colchester, which was the centre of a large district, and ranked but nine towns in the kingdom superior to itself, contained only 359 houses, some built of mud, others of timber, and the number of inhabitants was only 3000.

The total value of a carpenter's tools at that place and

time were only 1*s.*, and of a blacksmith's 12*s.* A mercer's stock was estimated at 3*l.*, and his household property at 2*l.* 9*s.*, which, even allowing for the difference in the value of money, gives us no very high idea of the consequence of these traders.

7. The denominations and relative values of English coin continue much the same as in the preceding period. Groats, half-pence, and farthings, however, make a more frequent appearance from the time of Edward I., and all money was

Groat of Edward I.

now struck of a round shape. Counterfeit and clipped coin abounded at all times; and under Edward I., 280 Jews were hanged in London alone, for circulating debased money. Edward himself, however, began in the latter part of his reign to depreciate the coin by diminishing its legal weight, in consequence of which 243 pennies, instead of 240, were coined out of the pound of silver. He also struck the new piece called the gross, or groat (*i. e.* the great penny), equal in value to four silver pennies. Edward III. carried this depreciation still farther, causing 266 and 270 pennies to be made out of the pound.* Upon his coins we first find the motto *Dieu et mon Droit*, which was originally adopted in allusion to the French crown, of which he sometimes also assumes the title.

* The quantity of silver in each penny was thus reduced from 22½ to 20 grains. This would depreciate the penny by the amount of about ⅓ of a farthing, and the nominal pound (which was still held to contain 20 shillings or 240 pence) by about 6*s.* 6*d.* in our present money, or from 56*s.* 3*d.* to something less than 50*s.* The groats, or fourpenny pieces, carried this depreciation still farther, each of them weighing only 72 grains instead of 90. A shilling paid in these groats was worth only about 2*s.* 3*d.* of our present money, instead of 2*s.* 9½*d.*, its original value; and a pound would have been about 46 of our present shillings.

The coins of Richard II. are nobles, half-nobles, quarter-nobles, groats, half-groats, pence, and half-pence.

Even the legal coins of this time are generally rude in workmanship, and vary much in the standard of weight. That which was adopted under Henry III. or Edward I. was an English penny to "thirty-two grains of wheat dry in the midst of the ear." This is the origin of what is still called a penny-weight, though it is now said to contain only twenty-four such grains. The pieces were struck with a hammer, which rude method, indeed, was continued so late as 1663, when milled money was introduced in its stead.

8. In agriculture it appears that a change was now taking place in the proportions of meadow and arable land, the former being to the latter at one period (on at least one known estate) as twenty-four to one, but afterwards only as about eleven to one. Tillage, indeed, was now regarded as essentially connected with the prosperity of the realm, and attracted great attention accordingly; yet cultivation could not have been of a very perfect kind, since there was little internal trade in grain, and dreadful famines often occurred. The manor-houses do not seem, however, to have been generally deficient in provisions, which were occasionally dispensed with a liberal hand.

The tenants, many of whom were mere labourers or cottiers, were not very strictly bound to any particular course of husbandry, and there was generally a good deal of jealousy existing between them and their landlords. It has been supposed that 4*d.* an acre was the average rent of land towards the close of the 13th century; the average price of wheat per quarter 4*s.* 6*d.*; and its produce about 12 bushels per acre. Some attention appears to have been paid to the quality of seed, and the value of manure was well understood; thus the tenants on many manors were not permitted to fold their flocks in their own inclosures, but compelled to drive them at nights to their lord's land, whence such places as the Driffold have derived their name.

The steward on a manor held the manorial courts and kept accounts of the farming stock and farming expenditure.

Next to him was the bailiff, or practical farmer, and then came the head harvest man, who was annually elected by the tenantry, and was allowed a seat at the lord's table. Harvest and seed time were the only seasons of real labour, and one great object with the farmer seems to have been to finish both in the shortest time. The former task was wound up with the usual feasting and gaiety of harvest home.

9. In the 15th century we find somewhat more attention paid to the commerce of the country by its monarchs. Henry IV. took active measures to protect the property of his subjects and to secure regularity of payment from their foreign debtors, and concluded several treaties on the basis of mutual freedom of intercourse with the Hanse Towns in Germany, with Castile, Portugal, Flanders, Brittany, and other countries. The increasing consequence of the foreign trade during this reign is also indicated by the frequent applications made by different merchants for incorporation, and by the appointment of governors of the English traders abroad, whose functions somewhat resembled those of consuls in modern times.

Another most important circumstance is the establishment of banks in various parts of Europe, of which the first appears to have been the Tabula de Cambi, or *Table of Exchange*, opened at Barcelona in 1401.* English money was now to be found in every part of the Continent, and, indeed, almost formed a common European currency. The first navigation act of the English parliament (5 Rich. II.), which forbade all exports or imports of merchandise in any other than English ships, must at this time have been relaxed in its execution, for we often find mention of foreign ships richly laden with purely English commodities.

Under Henry V. the attention of the public was much distracted from the peaceful pursuits of trade by the dazzling victories on the Continent, although commerce still furnished the greater part of the revenue, and now presented a new article of export, namely, guns and gunpowder. Fortunately,

* There had been at Venice, since 1171, an office for the payment of the interest on the debts of the republic, out of which a bank afterwards arose, but the Barcelona institution is the first which can be properly called a bank.

indeed, for the interests of the mercantile world, their intercourse was not allowed to be interrupted in those days even by the bitterest wars.

10. The best English wool was now superior even to that of Spain, which had long been the greatest wool-growing country in Europe; but our cloths were still very inferior in fineness to the Spanish and the Flemish, although in the coarser fabrics we had already attained to considerable excellence. Foreign and Oriental goods of all kinds were purchased with wool, cloth, tin, &c. from the Venetians, Genoese, and other nations, and the English are said to have been greater buyers in the markets of Flanders than all other nations put together. A trade for stock fish was also carried on with Iceland from Scarborough, Bristol, and other ports, which the Danish government repeatedly but vainly attempted to prevent.

11. Individual merchants now frequently rose to great wealth and power through their active pursuit of trade, of which the old Dukes of Suffolk may be quoted as a memorable example. The founder of this noble house was William de la Pole, a merchant of Hull, who flourished in the time of Edward III. He was reputed the greatest merchant in England, and on one occasion lent the king no less than 18,500*l.*, an immense sum for the age. His son, also a trader, was created Earl of Suffolk by Richard II.; his grandson was made Marquis, and then Duke of Suffolk, and subsequently lord chancellor, lord high admiral, and almost absolute ruler of the kingdom. His son married the Princess Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV., but the family became extinct under Henry VII.

Another great merchant, in the reign of Henry VI., was William Canyng of Bristol; but a name still better known is that of the famous Dick Whittington, whose cat, however, must, unfortunately, be banished to the region of pure romance. He was the son of Sir William Whytington, and was elected lord mayor of London three several times. In a loan to king Henry IV., he contributed the sum of 1000*l.*, whilst the most opulent of the nobility only gave 500*l.* He was surpassed, however, by two

brother traders of London, John Norbury and John Hende, who gave 2000*l.* each. It is worthy of remark, that every wealthy man of that day felt it his duty to bestow a large part of his abundance in the foundation of churches, almshouses, and colleges, many of which remain to this hour as monuments of their piety and munificence.

12. So honourable, indeed, had commerce now become, that kings and nobles, with some of the higher clergy, might be classed amongst the list of traders, a rank which they sometimes disgraced by very equivocal transactions. The Cistercian monks took such advantage of the freedom from customs' dues appropriated to religious persons, that they became the greatest wool dealers in the kingdom, till, in 1344, the parliament interfered, and prohibited them for the future from practising any kind of commerce. The tempting practice was long carried on, however, in defiance both of the temporal and spiritual authorities.

13. Commerce, although checked for a time by the civil wars of England, soon began to recover its vigour; and, under Edward IV., we find many important commercial treaties made with foreign powers, and great opulence displayed amongst the sons of trade. The merchants of Calais (then the great staple or market for exported goods) alone lent their sovereign upon one occasion upwards of 40,000*l.* The size and value of the different vessels employed at that time may be estimated from a few notices found in public documents. Thus we read of a Newcastle ship of 200 tons valued at 400*l.*; of a cog from Hull which with its cargo of cloth was valued at 200*l.*; of a Falmouth barge laden with salt and canvas of Brittany valued at 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; of a Yarmouth vessel with salt, cloth, and salmon, valued at 40*l.*; and of a Lynne crayer * with her cargo valued at 643*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*

14. The attention of Richard III. and his parliament was a good deal called to foreign trade, and several acts were passed, which cannot, however, be praised for any advance in intelligent legislation, being chiefly directed against foreigners

* Crayer, crare, or cray, was a small sea-boat, from the old French word craier.

(especially those of Italy), who had now got into their hands a great part of the internal trade of England, both in the articles which themselves imported from abroad, and in the natural produce of the country. This "great trouble" was attempted to be checked (as in former reigns) by all manner of restrictions upon the operations of foreign dealers, and, indeed, upon the importation of foreign commodities of all kinds. One important exception was made in favour of books and printers, and a curious order was issued that along with every butt of Malmsey brought by the Venetians or others, should be imported ten good and able bow-staves; the Lombards having, as it was alleged, entered into a seditious conspiracy to raise the price of such staves from 40*s.* to 8*l.* the hundred. The high price of the companion Malmsey seems also to have given great annoyance to its genial but thrifty consumers, for it is bitterly complained that a butt of wine which formerly held from 126 to 140 gallons, might have been bought for 50*s.*, the "merchant stranger" taking in payment two parts in woollen cloth, wrought in this realm, and one-third in ready money — whilst now the wine merchants had, "by subtle and crafty means," got the price up to 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, all paid in ready money, the butt at the same time holding scarcely 108 gallons. The remedy ordained was to require that the butt should be of the old measure, with which, perhaps, the old price was expected to return.

The manufactures and commerce of Scotland appear to have advanced considerably in the 15th century; but of the trade of Ireland, the notices are too scanty to form an opinion.

15. In connexion with the spread of commercial and other intercourse may be mentioned the establishment of public posts for the conveyance of intelligence, which were originated in France by Louis XI., A.D. 1476, and introduced into England by Richard III. (then Duke of Gloucester) in 1481. By means of post horses, changed every 20 miles, letters could then be carried at the rate of 100 miles a day. The post, however, was reserved exclusively for the service of government.

16. The coins of this century were, with one exception, of the same denominations as before. They had undergone, however, considerable diminution in weight; the pound of silver

being coined by Henry IV. into no less than 360 pennies, by which the amount of silver in each penny was reduced to 15 grains, and its value to less than 2*d.*; of the shilling to about 1*s.* 10½*d.*; and of the pound to 1*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, of our present money. The reason assigned for this depreciation was the great scarcity of money in the realm.

A still greater alteration was introduced by Edward IV.; who made 450 pennies out of the pound, which brought the penny down to 12 grains, or little more than 1½*d.* of our present money; the shilling to about 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the pound to about 30*s.*; a standard which continued throughout the remainder of the period. Henry V. and Henry VI., besides their English money, struck various French coins as kings of France; and Edward IV. introduced two new English coins, called the angel and angelot, in place of the noble and half-noble. They were considerably inferior in weight, however, to those coins, although they were ordered to pass at the same rates, namely, 6*s.* 8*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.*

17. Agriculture, in the 15th century, continued to suffer from the violent conduct of the nobles; who, encouraged, no doubt, by the laxity and disorder of civil war, often made forcible entries into other men's lands, and robbed them of their goods and chattels. The conduct of their superiors in this respect was worthily imitated by the hostlers, brewers, and victuallers, who used to purchase letters patent to take perforce horses and carts for the carriage of the king, under colour of which they seized frequently upon such vehicles, and having detained them for some time at their hostelries, fraudulently demanded the price of their keep from their unfortunate owners. Nor was this remedied by statute until 1449.

The growing value of wool, however, the increase of trade and manufactures, and the gradual rise of a superior class of cultivators paying money rents, enabled the agriculturist to bear up against these evils, and even to export a portion of his produce. The exportation of corn was permitted by several statutes whenever wheat was at 6*s.* 8*d.* and barley at 3*s.* per quarter. In 1463 the first symptom of a protective corn law appears in a statute which enacted, that no importations from

foreign countries should be allowed but when wheat and barley exceeded the prices just mentioned. The variations in prices were still of an extraordinary character; thus, in 1416, wheat was 16*s.*, and in 1463 only 2*s.* per quarter; a difference which was probably caused by the increased difficulty of circulating agricultural produce.

The known bearing of land on one estate in this century was about 6 bushels of wheat per acre; of barley, 12 do.; of pease, 12; and of oats, 5; but this seems to have been a low average.

18. At this time the arable lands, which had increased in extent during the 13th century, were to a great degree re-converted into pasture; owing chiefly to the scarcity of labourers, who, when emancipated, frequently betook themselves to other employment*; and to the rise of wool, which rendered flocks more profitable than grain. The ordinary value of land has been very variously estimated (at ten, twenty-five, or even but two years' purchase); but, in consequence of the circumstances just mentioned, it may, perhaps, have sunk a little below the centuries immediately preceding. One rental in 1420 mentions eight acres of arable land let at 6*d.* an acre; another in 1421, thirty-eight acres at 9*d.* an acre, and a garden at the old rent of 10*s.* a year. In 1491, land was let by the Abbot of Bury for eighty years at 4½*d.* an acre.

Horticulture almost entirely declined during this century; and the commonest garden herbs are said to have fallen absolutely out of use between the time of Henry IV. and the beginning of Henry VIII.

* Several statutes were passed to remedy this evil, ordering that no person should put his children apprentice to any craft or other labour within any city or borough, unless he had land or rents to the value of at least 20*s.* a year, but that they should be put to farming labour under penalty of imprisonment and fine at the king's will. The wages fixed by these acts, including meat and drink (except for the common labourer) were 23*s.* 4*d.* a-year for a bailiff, and for clothing, 5*s.*; for a chief hind, carter or shepherd, 20*s.*, and for clothing, 4*s.*; a woman servant, 10*s.*, with clothing; a boy under fourteen, 6*s.*, with ditto; and a labourer, 15*s.*, and clothing, 40*d.* In harvest, wages were higher, but a mower was not to exceed 4*d.* a day with diet, or 6*d.* without, and others in proportion.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

1. The decorations of houses were a good deal altered about the 13th century; the walls and ceilings being generally painted with subjects from the Scriptures, or the romances of the day, instead of the old hangings of needlework. Painted glass windows also appear in private houses as early as the reign of Henry III., and they were now made to open and shut with lattices. The furniture of wealthy dwellings was richly carved and ornamented; and tressels for tables, and carpets for the floor, seem to have been introduced during the 14th century. The bedsteads resembled our children's cribs, surmounted by a tester, but were often magnificently adorned, covered with fine linen sheets, and hung with silk, satin, or velvet, embroidered with the owner's arms in gold and silver. Rich cupboards of plate also marked the opulence of the mansion; and the stock of household linen was both large and diversified. People of the meaner ranks were, however, but poorly furnished in every respect.

2. The costume of this age differed little from that of the kings Richard and John. The tunic with tight sleeves, tight pantaloons, and shoes or short boots, with long pointed toes, still formed the ordinary dress of the middle classes. Caps of singular shape and cowls or coifs covered the head, whilst large cloaks with sleeves and hoods defended the person in bad weather, and robes and mantles adorned it in good. These latter were made of velvet, or of splendid gold and silver stuffs manufactured in Greece and the East. The edges of garments were fantastically scalloped, or "slyttered for queintise," whence they were called cointises. Mantles lined with ermine are first mentioned under Henry III., but furs do not make

their appearance on the outside of dresses till the reign of Edward I. The most curious distinction of general dress under the latter monarch consisted in a row of buttons very closely set from the wrist almost up to the elbow of the under tunic. Gloves were now also more generally worn.

Ladies' Head Dresses — temp. Henry III. (Royal MS.)

3. Ladies' hair at this time, instead of being plaited as before, was turned up behind, and enclosed in a network of gold,

Ladies' Costume — temp. Edward I. (Sloane MS.)

silver, or silk thread, over which the veil was worn, and sometimes a round hat or cap. Chaplets of metal were also

worn, or wreaths of natural flowers over or without the network. The wimple or head-kerchief continued, however, to be used by aged women, matrons, and widows; to which a very close and unbecoming neck-cloth called the gorget was added towards the close of Henry III. The poets of the day do not spare the ladies in their sátirical verses for their whimsical head tires and extravagant trains. The destructive practice of tight lacing is also continually mentioned, and about their "myddles smal" they wore rich girdles set with precious stones.

4. Under Edward II. we are presented with party coloured habits, which afterwards became very fashionable, and the sleeves of the upper tunic or surcoat terminate at the elbow in lappets, which, in the reign of Edward III., grew into long narrow streamers reaching to the ground. The cowl or capuchon, twisted into fanciful shapes, was carried lightly as if merely balanced on the head. Aprons were now also worn by females.

At the close of the 13th century the distinctive dress of lawyers is very plainly marked. As they were originally priests, they had, of course, the clerical tonsure; but when they became laymen they left off that practice, and wore the coif instead. This was first made of linen, and afterwards of fine silk, but never assumed an elegant or dignified appearance. Some judges wore caps and capes of fur, and had a peculiarly shaped collar of the same or of some white stuff round the neck. The ecclesiastical costume was exceedingly sumptuous; some of their habits being almost covered with gold and precious stones, or carefully embroidered with figures of animals and flowers. The episcopal mitre had taken its present form by the time of Edward I. The red hat is said to have been given to cardinals by Innocent VI. at the council of Lyons, in 1245, and was first worn by them in the ensuing year.

5. Under Edward III. we meet with a total change of costume, the long robes, cyclases, and cointises of the preceding reigns having entirely disappeared. A very short close-fitting garment called a cote-hardie, buttoned down the

front and confined over the loins by a splendid girdle, was now the general habit of the male nobility. Its simplicity of form, however, was compensated by the richness of material, and it was besides magnificently embroidered, and sometimes party coloured, with sleeves occasionally terminating at the elbow,

Male and Female Costume — temp. Edward III. (Royal MS.)

from which hung long white streamers. A very long mantle lined with silk or furs, the edges indented or cut in the form of leaves, and fastened upon the right shoulder by large buttons, was worn over this cote upon state occasions.

The changes in dress were now so incessant that the commons presented a complaint on the subject in the parliament of 1363, and a sumptuary law was accordingly passed to restrain them. Long beards came in again during this reign, and beaver hats were worn along with the knightly chapeau, which, in the royal family, was decorated with an ostrich feather.* The ladies also wore the cote hardie with its long tippets, or a sideless gown with very full skirts, so worn over the kirtle as

* As this was worn by Edward III. as well as all his sons, with a difference only in the blazoning for distinction's sake, the common story of the Prince of Wales deriving his plume from the Bohemian crest seems rather doubtful, especially as the latter was not three feathers, but an entire wing, or two wings endorsed.

to make it appear like a jacket in front. It was generally bordered with fur or velvet, and sometimes had a stomacher of the same materials ornamented with jewels, which increased its peculiar appearance.

At tournaments the ladies rode in party coloured tunics with short hoods and *liripipes* (or long tails to the hoods) wrapped round their heads like cords. Their girdles were adorned with gold and silver, and they wore small swords stuck through pouches in front like the men. Mourning habits are first noticed in this reign, being sometimes composed of an entire suit of black, or again merely a mourning cloak worn over the ordinary clothes.

6. Under Richard II. an universal rage for fine clothes prevailed amongst all ranks, even down to the menial servants, who are described as dressed in silks, satins, and scarlet cloths. The fashion of cutting the edges of garments into leaves and other devices was now carried to excess. Letters and mottos were embroidered on the gowns, and their sleeves were so long and wide that they trailed on the ground. Jackets of an awkward shortness were, on the other hand,

Male and Female Costume—temp. Richard II. (Harl. and Royal MSS.)

worn by many, with party coloured hose attached to them. The shoes had enormous long pointed toes, sometimes bend-

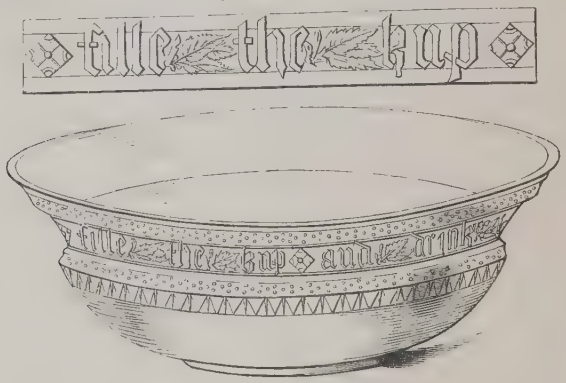
ing upwards in the old Polish fashion, (whence they were called crackowes), and described by some authors as fastened to their knees with chains of silver. Hats and caps of singular forms were still used (one very like a muff or the cap now worn by Turkish officers), and the hoods resemble much more a bundle of cloth than a head-dress. The hair was worn long and carefully curled.

7. The trains of the great nobles were still numerous and even more splendid than before, each striving to outdo his neighbour in the greatness and magnificence of his retinue. An extraordinary expenditure was, of course, constantly incurred. Richard II., we are told, entertained 10,000 per-

Dinner-table of the 14th century. (Illum. MS. in British Museum.)

sons daily at his various tables, and the Earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III., is said to have spent in one year about 22,000 pounds of silver in this manner; there being drunk of wine alone in his household, during that time, 371 pipes. The variety of dishes at a banquet in high life was astonishing, being frequently reckoned by thousands, although Edward II. and Edward III. repeatedly attempted to curtail them. The meals, indeed, were nominally but two a day, but with the help of intermeats and refections they managed to engross the greater part of the twenty-four hours. The art of cookery advanced in proportion, and combined many ingredients of the most heterogeneous kind, and all "brennyng like wyld-fire." Jellies, tarts, and rich cakes filled up the measure of mensal luxury. The wines were

either compounded, as hippocras, pigment, and *claret*, or pure, which latter were mostly brought from France, Spain,



Mazer Bowl — temp. Richard II.*

Greece, and Syria. The habits of the common people were still, however, sufficiently plain, and ale, cider, and mead washed down plebeian viands more abundant than delicate.

8. Hunting and hawking continued to be the favourite amusements of the higher ranks and of the clergy, and falcons were sold at very great prices, and guarded with jealous care. The wolf still appears as a beast of chase in England. Within doors the older games, with the addition of cross and pile, served to pass the time. Chess and draughts were particularly esteemed, the former of which was sometimes played on a circular chess board. The domestic jester lent his aid to enliven the circle, and troops of jugglers (who were generally thought to deal with the Devil), tumblers, rope-dancers, buffoons, minstrels, and glee-singers, with their attendant animals — horses dancing on tight ropes, or oxen riding upon horses and holding trumpets in their mouths — crowded in gay confusion around the festive hall.

* The name *mazer* is derived from the material of which the bowl is made (maple, in Dutch, *maeser*). The rim of this bowl is of silver gilt, with the inscription

"In the name of the trinite
Fille the kup and drinke to me."

the mazer bowl was very highly valued by our ancestors.

9. Mummings, a rude kind of masquerade, in which the actors commonly imitated beasts as well as men, were also a great source of amusement, and splendid pageants accompanied the intermeats at great public banquets. Miracles and Mysteries still made up the sum of theatrical entertainments, and were performed in the rudest and most grotesque way, although founded upon purely scriptural subjects.* Dancing was essential to the character of the perfect knight, and always followed the feast or the tournament.

The chief popular exercise was archery, for the better cultivation of which all other sports were sometimes forbidden by law. The bow of a yeoman was made the height of the bearer, the arrows generally a yard in length, notched to fit the string, and fleched with the feathers of the goose, eagle, or peacock. The cross-bow does not seem to have been much encouraged in England. The people were also fond of mummings, particularly of the famous Feast of Fools, which took place at Christmas, and, like the Saturnalia at Rome, overthrew, for a time, all the usual distinctions of society; the clown became a pope, the buffoon a cardinal, and the lowest rabble priests and abbots. Thus disguised they went into the churches, parodied the service, and delivered the most profane discourses as sermons. This wild sport did not reach the same mad height at any time in England as on the Continent, and it was soon put down either by the authority of the church, or by the native good sense of the people.

One drollery peculiar to this country, however, was the institution of the boy-bishop, in which the choir boys of the collegiate churches, on the feast of St. Nicholas or of the Innocents, dressed themselves in full pontificals, and set up one of their body as a prelate in full attire, with mitre and

* The plays performed at Chester upon one occasion, during the Whitsun week, embraced the most important events recorded in the Bible, beginning with the Creation, and ending with the Day of Judgment. The different parts were undertaken by the various corporations of the city (as the Deluge by the dyers, the Ascension by the tailors, &c.); and the person of the Almighty, as well as of other spiritual beings, was represented with the utmost unconsciousness of any impropriety.

crozier. They then mimicked the mass and sermon as before, and received contributions from the people. Proper dresses for the purpose were kept in most collegiate churches, and the play survived till the time of Henry VIII. Mary endeavoured to revive it; but after her death it entirely disappeared. There is a tomb of the boy-bishop dressed in his robes at Salisbury.*

10. In the 15th century a return was made to tapestry (generally manufactured at Arras in Flanders, whence its name) for the decoration of chambers in place of painting. The furniture was now even more finely carved than before, and beds in particular were fitted up with great magnificence. Clocks with strings and weights, something like our Dutch clocks, hung against the walls, and handsome chandeliers of metal lighted the rooms.

In dress there was little alteration under Henry IV. and Henry V. The chaperon, or hood, however, arrived at its final shape, namely, a sort of turban surrounding a skull cap, and having a long tippet hanging on one side, by which it could be suspended from the girdle or neck when necessary. The hair, too, was cropped close, and the face shaven, except by aged or official personages and military men, who occasionally wore moustaches. The collar of SS. is first seen on monuments of this period, and is traced, with some probability, to the initial letter of Henry IV.'s motto — *Souveraine.* The female costume under that monarch is as little changed as that of the men, except in the head-dress, which assumes a most monstrous set of shapes called the reticulated and heart-shaped, but of which the most extraordinary is the horned head-dress, projecting far on either side of the head, which came in under Henry V. The gown, however, excepting the long trailing sleeves, was not inelegant. It was made high in the neck, and was confined at the waist by a band and buckle as at present.

* Some traces of these sports may still be found amongst our Christmas games, and the Eton Montem has been conjectured to have sprung from the procession of the boy-bishop.

11. From the accession of Henry VI. to the end of Richard III. all the former fashions reigned in still wilder extravagance, which the few additions that were made during those reigns rather increased than diminished. These consisted in high caps with a single feather drooping behind, enormous high padded shoulders to the short jackets and long gowns, loose robes with armholes, and gowns with great hanging sleeves of fur. The doublets began to be slit at the elbows under Edward IV. so as to show the shirt, a custom which led to the absurd slashing and puffing of the next century. The boot toes were now widened instead of lengthened, and a law was consequently passed forbidding them to be made broader than six inches. Long toes were not entirely abandoned, however, till Henry VII., notwithstanding many a "cursing by the clergy" as well as severe legal penalties upon their makers. The hair was now again allowed to fall in large masses called side locks, and to cover the forehead so as to hang into the eyes. Stomachers were also worn by the men towards the close of the century exactly like those of women.

By a sumptuary law of Edward IV. cloth of gold or silk

Male and Female Costume — temp. Henry VI. (Harl. MS.)

of a purple colour was confined to the royal family, cloth of gold of tissue to dukes, and plain cloth of gold to lords;

velvet and damask satin were permitted to knights, and damask or satin doublets, and camlet gowns, to esquires

Male and Female Costume — temp. Edward IV. (Cotton and Royal MSS.)

and gentlemen. Under Henry VI. the female dress nearly lost the surcoat and other outer robes, and is distinguished by short waists and long trains, with strange horned and heart-shaped head-dresses. Afterwards arose the steeple head-dress, a high pointed cap, which still exists in Normandy; but about the close of Edward IV. this again disappeared, and a velvet cowl was worn turned back on the forehead and hanging in plaits behind, or a caul of gold net ornamented with two wings of gauze like those of a butterfly.

12. The nobles of the 15th century were still followed by crowds of retainers, rendered more necessary, indeed, than ever, by the troubles of the civil wars. The great Earl of Warwick, "the King-maker," is said to have maintained 30,000 men at his different castles, and at his house in London six oxen were usually eaten by his attendants at breakfast. Besides the out-of-door followers, the domestic servants of a great lord were almost as numerous as those

of the sovereign, and arrayed with all the regal distinctions of treasurers, marshals, heralds, &c.; and a sufficient body of priests and choristers performed service in the private chapel of the noble with all the pomp and grandeur of a cathedral.

13. The ordinary meals were now increased to four a day — breakfast at seven in the morning, dinner at ten, supper at four in the afternoon, and "liveries," which were taken in

Dinner Party — Saying Grace. (Royal MS.)

bed, between eight and nine at night. These latter, as well as the breakfast, were of no light or unsubstantial character, consisting of good beef and mutton (or salt fish in Lent), with beer and wine in the morning; and of a loaf or two, with a few quarts of mulled wine and beer, at night. At dinner the huge oaken table, extending the whole length of the great hall, was profusely covered with joints of fresh and salt meat, followed by courses of fowl, fish, and curious made-dishes. The lord took his seat on the dais or raised floor at the head; his friends and retainers were ranged above or below the salt according to their rank. As forks were not yet in use, the fingers were actively employed, whilst wine and beer in wooden or pewter goblets were handed round by the attendants. Over head the favourite hawks stood on their perches, and below the hounds reposed on the pavement.

The dinner generally lasted for three hours, and all pauses

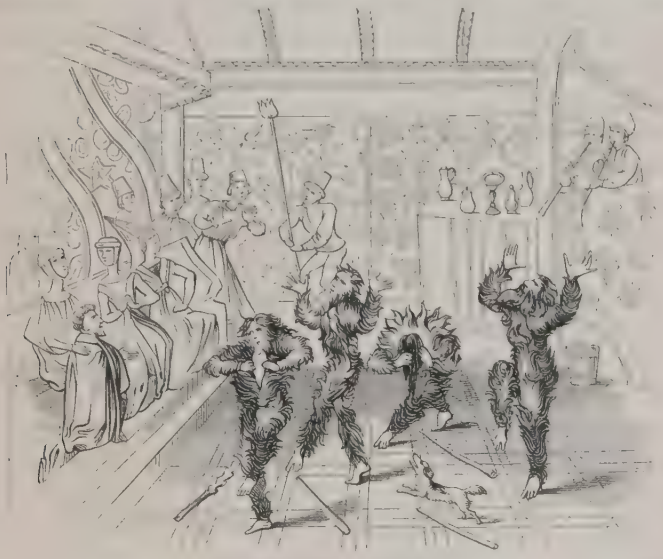
were filled up by the minstrels, jesters, and jugglers, or by the recitation of some romance of chivalry.* At the end of each course was sometimes introduced a dish called a *subtlety*, composed of curious figures in jellies or confectionary, with a riddling label attached for the exercise of social wit. The monasteries were especially noted for good dinners, and the secular clergy, not to be outdone in hospitality, invented *glutton-masses* in honour of the Virgin. These were held five times a year in the open churches, whither the people brought food and liquor, and vied with each other in this religious gormandizing. The general diet of the common people continued, however, to be coarse and poor, and severe famines not unfrequently occurred.

14. The sports of the higher classes continued much the same as before, but in hunting the battue system was now introduced, the deer being driven out of the forests in front of hunting booths, where they were shot down at pleasure. Mummings and pageants were still in high favour, the latter of which were occasionally got up on a grand scale to welcome a monarch to his faithful city of London or other towns. The Mysteries or theatrical exhibitions of the period were of a very gross and profane character, and contained the boldest representations of God and the devil, hell and heaven; but these were in time superseded by the drier and more decent Moralities — a species of allegorical drama, in which abstract qualities were represented as real personages, and generally with sufficient tediousness and lack of invention. †

* At the installation feast of Nevil, Archbishop of York, 104 oxen, 6 wild bulls, 1000 sheep, 304 calves, as many swine, 2000 pigs, 500 stags, bucks, and roes, 204 kids, and 22,512 fowls of all sorts, were solemnly served up. These were followed by mountains of fish, pasties, tarts, custards, and jellies; and 300 quarters of wheat were used for the accompanying loaves. Of liquids there was a proportionate supply; 300 tuns of ale, 100 tuns of wine, and a pipe of hippocras. Among the dishes were twelve seals and porpoises.

† One of the most amusing Moralities is entitled "The Condemnation of Feasts, to the praise of Diet and Sobriety, for the benefit of the Human Body." Towards the close a trial is introduced, of *Feasting* and his attendant *Supper*, before the Lord Chief Justice, *Experience!* They are

Cards must now be added to the in-door amusements, for we have no proof of their being used in England before this



Court Mummers. (Harl. MS.)

century. At first they were painted or illuminated by hand, and cost a considerable sum; but afterwards, and even before printing had been applied to books, the outlines of the figures were stamped from wooden blocks, and the colours afterwards put in by hand. The oldest and most favourite games seem to have been trump and primero, the latter of which is supposed to have resembled whist.

The most popular amusements of the lower classes were wrestling, bowling, quoit and ninepin playing, and games at ball. In wrestling the Cornwall and Devonshire men excelled, and a ram, or sometimes a cock, was the prize of the

solemnly arraigned for gorging four persons to death; and poor *Feasting* is condemned to death, and strangled by *Diet*, the public executioner. *Supper* is only bound to load his hands with lead, to hinder him from putting too many dishes on the table, and to remain at the distance of six hours' walking from *Dinner* upon pain of death! which he tremulously engages to do, and is accordingly dismissed.

victor. Bowling alleys were commonly attached to the houses of the wealthy, and to places of public resort. Among the games at ball we find tennis, trap-ball, bat and ball, and the balloon-ball, in which a large ball filled with air was struck from one side to the other by two players with their hands and wrists guarded by bandages. Archery was now on the decline, owing to the introduction of fire-arms; nor could all the legislative enactments of the day revive its constant use. The quarter staff was also a favourite weapon of sportive fence, which was a staff about five or six feet long, grasped in the middle with one hand, while the other slid up and down as it was required to strike or to ward a blow.

The citizens of London enjoyed themselves in winter with skating on the Thames, (the old shankbones of sheep having now been superseded by regular skates, probably introduced from the Netherlands,) and in summer with sailing and rowing.* Dice and cards, prisoner's base, blindman's buff, battledore and shuttlecock, bull-baiting, and cock-fighting, a rude species of mumming, the dance of fools at Christmas, and other games, completed the gratifications of the populace.

15. The professional fool continued, indeed, to be a very important personage, nor was he altogether disbanded at court till the time even of Charles II. A real idiot was also added in some great houses, and formed a constant source of cruel mirth. The fool's dress consisted of a party coloured coat, sometimes hung with bells at the skirts and elbows, breeches and close hose, the legs often of different colours, or a jacket and petticoat fringed with yellow. His hood was shaped like a monk's cowl, decorated with asses' ears, or terminating in the neck and head of a cock garnished with a single feather. His usual instrument was the bauble or short staff with a carved head, and sometimes a blown bladder fastened to the end.

16. One characteristic of English manners at this time ought not to be omitted, as it has but too long been a national

* The annual procession on lord mayor's day was first conducted on the water by John Norman, the lord mayor of London in 1453. Pleasure boats also now became very numerous on the Thames.

disgrace, and one which has always attracted the particular notice of foreigners. This was the practice of profane swearing, which had grown to be so conspicuous that an Englishman was called on the Continent a "God-damme," from his favourite expression. To the credit of the Lollards, it should be recorded, that one of the signs of their heretical membership was the discouraging of this most superfluously wicked habit.

BOOK V.

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD. A.D. 1483—1603.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. The period upon which we are now about to enter, presents a number of very important changes in the condition both of the country and of the people; so much so, indeed, that it may be regarded as an era entirely new, and as distinct from the ages which preceded it as our own is from itself. For besides the complete revolution in the affairs of the church, to which we shall presently allude, a great alteration took place from its very commencement in the relative positions of the holders of civil power and in the circumstances of the people at large. The consequence of this alteration was an evident and irresistible impulse to national and individual improvement, which never afterwards relaxed until it finally placed our beloved country upon its present height of unrivalled prosperity.

2. The wars of the Roses in the last period and the general course of events for the thirty years before the accession of Henry VII. had greatly weakened the power of the nobles, formerly so dangerous to the crown. Many of the old families had been overthrown and almost destroyed, and an immense amount of landed property had been confiscated to the crown.

This change of power was diligently increased and made permanent by Henry VII., who set himself earnestly to diminish both the influence and the retinues of the great lords, whilst he accumulated treasures for himself and exacted the constant attendance of the royal followers. A legal measure also which he introduced, called the Statute of Fines, tended still more to the same object, by increasing the facilities of alienating estates, and so encouraging the unsettlement and transfer to other persons of the old landed property of the great houses.* The smallness of their number, too, paralysed the nobility in the first parliament of Henry VII. There were then in the House of Lords only twenty-eight temporal peers, and in the first of Henry VIII. only thirty-six, whilst the subsequent additional creations were naturally more attached to the crown than to the aristocracy.

The power of the king thus became paramount, and was particularly displayed in the extensive authority exercised by his privy council, or as it was now commonly called,

* The claim to landed property established by fines and recoveries (which is now abolished and processes of ejectment substituted) has been already alluded to (p. 140.), but may require some further explanation. The word *fine* does not here mean a penalty, but (in the strict meaning of the Latin *finis*) the termination of a suit. This was effected, of course, by producing the title on which the land was held or claimed, which was, in ancient times, the charter of feoffment granted by the king. The occasional loss of this charter, however, or the difficulty of proving it after a lapse of years, gave rise to a new species of assurance, which was a fictitious suit entered, as if by an adverse claimant, against the estate, and then settled in court with the consent of the judges in favour of the real owner. This agreement was entered in the records of the court, and so was not only not liable to be lost or defaced like a charter, but was held good as a judgment of that court at all times. The effect of Henry's statute was to give these *fines* (*finis*, or *finalis concordia*, from the words with which the writ of assurance generally begins), when an estate was sold under them, the power of breaking through the entail (i.e. its necessary descent in the line of the first owner), a power which was finally confirmed under Henry VIII., so that henceforth a person buying a property was not liable to have it reclaimed by the heir of the seller. The first great decision, however, upon this point, had already taken place so early as the 12 Edward IV.

the Star Chamber.* To this body was now entrusted the sole examination and punishment of all offences that might be brought before them, under the plea of sundry defects existing in the ordinary inquest by jury.

3. The reign of Henry VIII. may probably be taken as the period at which the royal prerogative reached its greatest height. The monarch was then, indeed, all in all, and might with real propriety have replied in the old form to every appeal from his subjects, *Le Roi s'avisera.* One great step of Henry VIII. was to denounce as treasonable every act or word that might be construed as tending to affect the royal dignity. For the discovery of this mortal offence new oaths were introduced, and new methods devised, which at any former period would have quickly roused his haughty barons to arms, but which now were borne in sullen silence or suppressed murmurs. The king's proclamation was also to be regarded as if it were an act of parliament, and any one disobeying it and then contemptuously going out of the kingdom, was declared guilty of high treason.

It was high treason too, to attempt to deprive the king of his lawful style and title, which was settled, with great solemnity, in the following form of words: — "Henry VIII. by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, on earth the Supreme Head." As for his tyrannical and contradictory statutes on matters of religion, they were all to be obeyed implicitly at the utmost peril of the transgressor. Most of the treasons and felonies thus created were, however, abolished by Edward VI., and a more liberal standard of royal rights set up. This was at first confirmed by Queen Mary, although she afterwards created some new species herself, as by declaring coiners or

* This name is taken from the room in which the king's council used to sit, which was called the Star Chamber (translated in French by La Chambre des Estayers, in Latin, Camera Stellata), probably from the contracts and obligations of the Jews (*starra* or *starrs*, corrupted from Shetar, *a covenant*), which were kept in it.

forgers of the queen's seal or sign manual to be traitors. Mary, indeed, appears to have been perfectly well disposed to restore all things to the state in which they were in the early part of her father's reign.

4. A new and most dangerous power was placed in the hands of Elizabeth by the creation of the Court of High Commission, which was originally intended to inquire into and amend heresies and schisms in religious matters, but which was easily converted into an instrument of tyranny for any purpose, temporal or spiritual. The first commission under this court was issued in 1559; and the powers with which it was successively invested extended not only to the suspension, deprivation, and other punishment of obstinate or unworthy clergymen, but to the correction of all errors, heresies, and schisms, and, moreover, of all misbehaviours in matrimonial affairs. The commissioners were directed to make inquiry of offences by all ways and means which they could devise — words which seem to authorise every species of inquisitorial cruelty, even to the rack, torture, and imprisonment; — and, with the help of the Star Chamber, were enabled to maintain the royal authority to an excessive pitch. The government of Elizabeth, however, although full as arbitrary as that of her father, was not so much disliked, partly because it was seen to be seriously exerted for the advancement of great national objects, and partly because, being of an economical cast, it did not require such oppressive exactions from the pockets of the people. The threats and insolence of foreign powers also, and the hearty way in which, in times of danger, the "good Queen Bess" threw herself upon the affections of her subjects, no doubt contributed much to her personal popularity.

With this period commenced the regular succession of Prime Ministers in England. The earlier kings had often been their own chief ministers; but, from the time of Wolsey, we always find some one member of the council distinctly acting in that capacity.

5. The revenues of the crown were raised to an enormous height by the robberies of Henry VII., and his creatures,

Empson and Dudley. At his death he is said to have left treasure to the amount of 1,800,000 marks; or, in weight of silver, between 2,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* of modern money. His demands were all, however, carefully based upon some law or right, though often of an obsolete character; but his bolder and less frugal son did not hesitate to throw aside every legal form, and, having first exhausted all ordinary sources, regular and irregular, to seize at once upon the immense property of the monastic orders. It has been calculated that the rental of the lands which he thus obtained was not less than 6,000,000*l.* sterling. A century after the suppression of the religious houses, the estates of the Abbey of St. Alban's alone are said to have brought in 200,000*l.* a year. Henry's average revenue, thus mightily swollen, has been calculated at 800,000*l.* a year, which is twice as much as his father (the wealthiest of all preceding kings) is supposed to have enjoyed.

Edward's income was raised by means quite as dishonest, though not so extensive; and the chantries, free chapels, and colleges throughout the kingdom, to the number of between 2000 and 3000, soon followed the fate of the monastic establishments. Even the churches were robbed, not only of their superstitious furniture, but often of the plate and linen necessary for the decent celebration of the Lord's Supper. The young monarch, whose average income is calculated at 400,000*l.* per annum, died nevertheless in debt to the amount of more than 300,000*l.* Mary was equally arbitrary in her exactions, though not precisely in the same direction; but she managed also to die deeply in debt, although enjoying a revenue of more than 300,000*l.*

A better system, however, began with Elizabeth, who scrupulously discharged both principal and interest of her brother's and sister's debts, and restored their debased coinage to its former purity; and this notwithstanding great military expenses, subsidies and loans to foreign powers, a splendid court, and lavish bounty to personal favourites; whilst the parliamentary grants, during the whole of her reign, were unusually sparing, the whole receipts of this kind, both from temporal and spiritual sources, being only about 65,000*l.*

per annum. Her revenue from all quarters, towards the close of her reign, appears to have been about 500,000*l.** Our great queen seems, indeed, to have well understood the whole subject of revenue and taxation, when she won the hearts of her lieges by remarking, that money in her people's purses was as good to her as in her own Exchequer!

6. Still more important than the elevation of the crown upon the depression of the nobles, was the gradual rise of what are called the middle classes, which now begin to present themselves to our view throughout England. This invaluable order was produced partly by the growth of trade and manufactures, which had been going on ever since 1331, when Edward III. first invited over the woollen-weavers from the Netherlands, and had made rapid strides under the more tranquil Tudor dynasty; and partly by the new facilities of purchasing land from the great but needy proprietors, which soon converted the wealthy merchant or industrious farmer into an independent country gentleman.

This tendency was vastly increased by the circumstances of the Reformation, and the wonderful excitement and freedom of thought which that great change naturally induced. Still the full vigour of the middle class was hardly yet felt; and the crown, backed by the newly-created nobility and the Church, of which it was now the acknowledged head, main-

* This proceeded from the parliamentary grants, from the crown demesnes (now much increased by the late seizures of church lands), the rents of the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, the profits of the old feudal prerogatives about wardships, marriages, &c., the customs of tonnage and poundage, the first fruits and tenths of benefices, the temporalities of vacant bishoprics (which were sometimes kept open for years), occasional appropriations of the landed property of sees, the sale of licences to Roman Catholics and Nonconformists (exempting them from penalties for non-attendance on public worship, from which about 25,000*l.* a year is said to have been derived), New Years' gifts taken from persons frequenting the court (usually amounting to 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*), embargoes on ships and merchandise, compulsory loans, and the sale of monopolies in articles of merchandise. These last rose to so great a height that the House of Commons was forced to complain of them in 1601. Elizabeth wisely anticipated any farther proceedings, by at once declaring all the patents of monopoly null and void.

tained its dominant power and repressive influences to the close of the period.

7. The great officers of state, or of the king's court, were arranged, under Henry VIII., in the following order, which continues to the present day: the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Great Chamberlain, Constable, Marshal, Lord Admiral, Lord Steward, King's Chamberlain, King's Chief Secretary. The jurisdiction of the Lord Steward, which had been reduced to a mere shadow of its former greatness, was partially restored by Henry VIII., with reference to criminal acts committed within the king's residence, the special punishment for which was chopping off the right hand. The authority of the Court of Chancery, on the contrary, was greatly enlarged by Cardinal Wolsey; but, after his removal from the chancellorship, the business of that court sank to a lower pitch. The hearing of causes by the Master of the Rolls, however, which the extraordinary number of Chancery suits had originally introduced, was continued even after they had somewhat diminished in number.

Another jurisdiction, erected by Henry VIII. to preserve the peace of the northern counties (some disturbances having broken out in Lincolnshire and Lancashire upon the suppression of the monasteries), called "The President and Council of the North," made some noise in succeeding reigns, particularly in that of Charles I. The authority of this court, which was framed on the model of the king's council, was not very well defined; and its habitual acting under secret instructions gave rise to much clamour, and, at length, to its dissolution, in the sixteenth year of the latter monarch.

8. The general administration of criminal law was of a very arbitrary character under Henry VIII. The lives of the people were entirely in the hands of the crown; and a trial was little more than a formal method of signifying the will of the prince, and of displaying his power to gratify it. Torture was freely resorted to even by such men as the Chancellors More and Wriothesly, from whom a greater degree of wisdom and humanity might have been reasonably

expected. Indeed, down to the close of the present period, the whole frame of the law was of an excessively severe and despotic texture.*

The release from punishment by "benefit of clergy," which was originally intended for felonious ecclesiastics alone, had in course of time been gradually extended to all who could read, and so were capable of becoming *clerks;* but this indiscriminate delivery from the consequences of crime was wisely restricted under Henry VII., who allowed laymen their benefit of clergy only once in their lives, upon which occasion they were to be branded on the left thumb for distinction. It was also wholly taken away in the case of any person who should deliberately murder his lord or master. Several other offences, and especially murder, were further exempted from benefit of clergy by Henry VIII.

9. The Game laws were first enacted under Henry VII., under the title of "The Forfeiture for taking of Pheasants and Partridges, or the Eggs of Hawks or Swans." The first statute of Bankrupts occurs under Henry VIII., and was extremely rigorous, treating the bankrupt as a criminal, and seizing summarily upon both his person and the whole of his property for the benefit of the creditors. A curious statute of the same monarch relates to gipsies or "Egyptians," at that time new comers in this country, but distinguished by the same singular habits as at present. These poor wanderers were to forfeit all their goods and chattels, and to leave the kingdom within fifteen days after command so to do, on pain of imprisonment.

Gambling was vigorously attacked by the 33 Henry VIII. c. 9., which still remains in force, and strictly forbids any person to keep a public house or alley for tables, tennis, dice, cards, bowls, or quoits; or to haunt such houses and plays. Masters, however, might license their servants to play at

* Henry VIII. is recorded in the course of his reign to have hanged no fewer than 72,000 robbers, thieves, and vagabonds. In the latter days of Elizabeth scarcely a year passed without 300 or 400 criminals going to the gallows. In 1596, in the county of Somerset alone, 40 persons were executed, 35 burnt in the hand, and 37 severely whipped.

cards, dice, or tables with themselves, or with any other gentleman, provided it were in their house or in their presence; and persons possessing 100*l.* per annum might license them to play at all manner of games within their own precincts. All classes might also play without restriction at Christmas time, but still in the presence of their masters.

The privilege of sanctuary was a good deal altered in this reign. Formerly a person accused of any crime (except treason or sacrilege) if he fled to any church or churchyard, and within forty days after went in sackcloth before the coroner *, confessed his guilt, and took an oath that he would abjure the realm and never return without leave from the king, saved his life, although his blood was attainted and his goods and chattels forfeited. But as many useful artificers were thus lost to the country, it was now provided that such offender should merely abjure his natural liberty of free passage through the realm, and remain for life in whatever sanctuary the coroner might direct. If he came out of such sanctuary, he was to suffer death, and if he committed any felony in it, he lost the benefit of his place of refuge. The privileges of sanctuary were also much abridged by the diminution as well of its retreats as of the classes of offenders who might make use of them. Under James I. they were at length abolished altogether.

10. A severe enactment occurs under Elizabeth against those who used any invocation of evil spirits, or practised any enchantments whereby any one might be killed or destroyed, which was to be felony without clergy; if the victim of sorcery should only be lamed or waste away, the offender was to be imprisoned for a year, and to stand in the pillory once a quarter during the time. This statute was repealed by James I.

11. The practice of drawing up the statutes in English is generally assigned to the commencement of the reign of

* The office of coroner (*coronator*, as being principally concerned with pleas of the crown) is of equal antiquity with that of sheriff, the two being ordained together to keep the peace when the great earls gave up the wardships of the counties. His usual duties in presiding at inquests are too well known to require further notice.

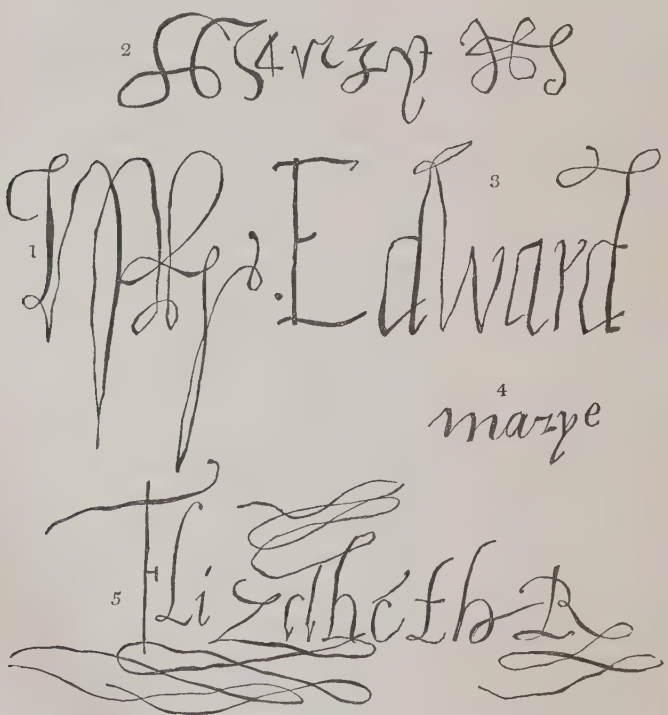
Richard III., but under that monarch they often occur in French. From the fourth year of Henry VII. however, down to the present day, they are universally written in English. The law reports of the latter reign are contained in the Year Books and some private collections. It does not appear that these were as yet printed, although the statutes were as they came out, by De Worde and Pynson. Under Henry VIII. the Year Books end altogether, and the reports contained in different collections are henceforth alone to be depended upon for precedents in law. The first person who published his notes of trials for the use of the profession was Edmund Plowden, who brought out the first part of his Commentaries in 1571. He was followed by Dyer, Coke, and several others in the reign of Elizabeth.

12. The most eminent writers upon law under Henry VIII. are Anthony Fitzherbert, Judge of the Common Pleas, and John and William Rastell, who combined the occupations of lawyers and printers, and were the first to publish an abridgment of the statutes at large. The first writer who has treated the subject of criminal law professedly and in detail, was Staunforde, who flourished in the reign of Queen Mary. But it is in the golden age of Elizabeth that we find the great lawyer Sir Edward Coke and his mighty compeer Lord Bacon first appear, and present names, decisions, and expositions of law which can never be surpassed or forgotten.

13. The members of the Middle Temple in the time of Henry VIII. were divided into two companies, called Clerks Commons and Masters Commons; the first consisting of young men under two years' standing, and the latter above that date. These were again subdivided into No Utter Barrister, who, either from low standing or neglect of study, were not called upon to argue before the benchers — Utter Barristers, who enjoyed this privilege, being of five or six years' standing — and Benchers, who had been Utter Barristers in the house for fourteen or fifteen years. These last had first been chosen by the elders of the house to read, expound, and declare some statute openly to the society, during which season they maintained great dignity, and were attended by four

ancient barristers of the house in their readings, four stewards in their feastings, and ten or twelve men to wait generally on their persons.

The Temple Church was the great gossiping place of the younger students, and is described as being in term time quite as noisy as "the pervyse (church-portico) of Pawle's." Under Queen Mary it was ordered that no attorney should be admitted into the four inns of court, nor should the members wear their study gowns further into the city than Fleet Bridge or Holborn Bridge, or westward than the Savoy, on pain of forfeiting 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for the second offence expulsion. The wearing of the appropriate dress at commons was also rigorously observed.



Autographs of English Monarchs. (Cotton and Harl. MSS.)
1. Henry VII.
2. Henry VIII.
3. Edward VI.
4. Mary
5. Elizabeth.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION.

1. THE history of religion forms by far the most important chapter in this period, and might, indeed, with great propriety, be allowed to give a name to the whole era. Throughout the reign of Henry VII. it is true, and for the first half of his successor's, there was no outward change in the established faith of the country, and not much, perhaps, even within the secret breasts of men. The Roman church, indeed, shone forth with extraordinary lustre at that time, and her great son the Cardinal Wolsey exercised a wider and more undisputed power than even Becket in his best days. All the highest offices of the state were still in the hands of the clergy, and they were both the ministers of the crown at home and its ambassadors and chief agents abroad; a preference which their superior learning and qualifications for the most part deserved.

2. This undisputed authority did not, however, wholly relieve the church from her anxious fears of heretical opinions, which were now punished with a degree of severity before unknown. In 1494 the first female martyr suffered in Smithfield. This was a widow named Joan Boughton, a disciple of Wycliffe, who was upwards of eighty years of age. Her daughter soon after was also burned for holding the same opinions. One or two others, who have attracted but little attention, went at first to the stake, but in general those who were convicted of heresy were content to recant and bear the significant fagot in procession, or be branded on the cheek for penance. Heresy, however, continued to spread, especially upon the points of merit in good works, worship of images, efficacy of penance and pilgrimage, the duty of praying to the Virgin and other saints, of acknowledging the pope as successor to St. Peter, and the

transubstantiation of the bread and wine in the Holy Sacrament. An outcry began also to be raised against the dissolute lives of many of the clergy, which roused the ecclesiastical authorities a little, and several orders were made for the regulation of their dress and conduct at the synod of Canterbury in 1487. Innocent VIII. also issued a bull in 1490, in which he strongly reprobated the profane lives of the English monks, and directed the primate to admonish them severely, which was accordingly done, but apparently without much effect.

3. At the time of the accession of Henry VIII., the churchmen, both secular and regular, had got into several quarrels amongst themselves, in which some gross impostures were mutually disclosed, and also with the civil authorities upon the point of clerical immunity from the sentences of the courts of law. Ever since the abrogation of the Constitutions of Clarendon, under Henry II., it had been ruled that an ecclesiastic was not liable to the jurisdiction of a civil court, which induced many persons, after committing the greatest crimes, to get into orders, when they became almost entirely free from ordinary punishment. In the fourth year of Henry VIII., a temporary bill was passed ordaining that this "benefit of clergy" should be wholly denied to all murderers and robbers, except within the orders of bishop, priest, or deacon, which gave great satisfaction to all but the clergy, who denounced it as an infringement upon the laws of God and the privileges of the church. The matter was brought first before the king in council, and then before the parliament and the convocation, and gave rise in all these places to the most alarming contentions between the church and the secular power.

4. A circumstance which occurred in the year 1514 added fuel to the flame. A citizen of London, named Richard Hunne, having been sued on some trifling claim in the spiritual court by the parson of a parish, took out a writ of præmunire against his pursuer for bringing the king's subject before a foreign jurisdiction, the court sitting under the authority of the papal legate. This bold act inflamed the

clergy, and Hunne was thrown into prison, where he was shortly afterwards found dead, hanging by a hook from the ceiling. The coroner's jury charged the bishop of London's summoner and the bell ringer with the act, and the bishop in return began a new process of heresy against Hunne's dead body, which was actually burnt in consequence in Smithfield. The affair was now brought before parliament, which reversed the forfeiture of the poor man's goods, but a diversion was made by the convocation, which summoned Dr. Standish, who had lately, in a debate before the king, defended the rights of the civil power, to account for his declarations upon that occasion. In the course of this trial Wolsey begged that the matter might be referred to the decision of the pope at Rome, but Henry, having consulted with Fineux, his chief justice, made answer that he would maintain the rights of the crown and of his temporal jurisdiction in the same manner that his predecessors had always done. The bishop's chancellor was also obliged to surrender on account of Hunne's death, and to resign his benefit of clergy by submitting to the court, and pleading "not guilty," on which condition he was allowed to depart. This was the only shock that was given to the sway of the established religion during the first eighteen years of Henry's reign.

5. Much of the influence which the church possessed at this period was no doubt owing to the master-character of Henry's prime minister, the famous cardinal Wolsey. This extraordinary man, the son of a butcher at Ipswich *, attracted the especial favour of his sovereign about the year 1512, being then in the forty-first year of his age, and in a few years was promoted to the highest offices, received pensions from the pope, the king of France, the emperor, and other foreign princes, and held his royal master for a time completely under his control. His story is too well known

* Hence the well known alliterative couplet, so remarkable for its intense bitterness of spirit, —

> "Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred,
> How high his honour holds his haughty head."

to require repetition, but it is to our purpose here to observe that so long as Wolsey maintained his authority, it was impossible that the spiritual power could suffer much from any external attack, although he did both it and himself serious injury all the while by his ostentatious and oppressive acts; but the moment that his power was crushed, the body to which he belonged was left fully exposed to the strong spirit which had long been gradually growing up against it.

6. In order to trace the history of the English Reformation with clearness, we must go a little abroad and consider what had been passing for some time on the Continent. Eight years after Henry VIII. came to the throne (A.D. 1517) the celebrated opposition to the sale of indulgences in the city of Wittemberg was made by Martin Luther, (then an Augustinian monk and professor of philosophy in its university,) which led by degrees to the great reform in Germany. In the course of this immortal contest, our king Henry adventured to do battle with the champion of Protestantism, and, in 1521, wrote a book on the seven sacraments against Luther, which was publicly presented by his ambassador to Pope Leo X., who, in token of gratitude, gave his royal supporter the title of Defender of the Faith, which has been retained by our sovereigns to this day. This act of the king is said to have been contrived by Wolsey in order to engage him more firmly against heresy and heretical books, which were now brought over in great numbers from the Continent, and were diligently sought out for destruction by the ecclesiastical authorities.

7. An event of a different kind was Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn, which induced several scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with Queen Catherine of Arragon, who had been originally espoused to his deceased brother Arthur. For two years he used every persuasion, and even threat, to bring the court of Rome into his views, but without success, till at length, in 1529, the famous Cranmer, then a tutor in a private family, ventured to propose that the question should be decided by learned and holy doctors, upon the sole authority of the Word of God, without any further re-

ference to the pope. This suggestion pleased Henry so much, that an appeal to the universities, both at home and abroad, was immediately made, which, being suitably backed by menaces and bribes, was, after a good deal of delay and opposition, at length generally acceded to. The pope, however, persisted in issuing a brief forbidding the marriage under pain of excommunication, in which he was supported by the Emperor Charles V., who was a near relation of Queen Catherine. The king, following the advice of Thomas Cromwell, refused to attend to this mandate, and even went so far in his wrath as to declare himself the proper head of the English church. The clergy, of course, opposed this bold step, but they were quickly indicted in a body for breaking the statutes of provisions and præmunire, by having acknowledged the legatine authority of Cardinal Wolsey, and at length they agreed to recognise the claim of the king, with the formal limitation — "so far as might be allowed by the law of Christ;" an insertion which was purchased at the price of 100,000*l.* present to the crown.

8. In 1532 a most important statute was passed, abolishing the payment of *annates*, or first fruits of benefices, to the court of Rome, from which act we may properly date the overthrow of its power in this country. Under the patronage of Queen Anne Boleyn, Archbishop Cranmer*, and prime minister Cromwell, the remaining fragments of Romish authority were rapidly swept away, and, in 1534, Henry VIII. was formally proclaimed "The only Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England," with the sole right to reform and correct all heresies by his own authority, to appoint to all bishopries, and to claim the first fruits and a yearly tenth of all spiritual livings throughout the land. Penalties were soon imposed for denying the king's supremacy or attacking his marriage, and a number of people, amongst whom were the illustrious Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, with

* Cranmer, the first Protestant archbishop of England, was consecrated 30th March, 1533, by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, Vesey of Exeter (the munificent endower of his native place, Sutton Coldfield), and Standish of St. Asaph.

a poor silly woman called the Maid of Kent, were publicly executed, whilst on the other hand, Bilney, Frith, and many others, both Lollards and Anabaptists, were burnt at the stake to show the royal attachment to the ancient faith. This even-handed cruelty was, indeed, the characteristic of the rest of his reign, in which the Roman Catholics had at least the advantage that they were hanged or beheaded instead of being burned alive.

9. The next great step of the monarch and his adviser Cromwell (who, though a layman, had been appointed vicar-general of the clergy, with all the spiritual authority belonging to the king deputed to him), was the confiscation of monastic property and the dissolution of the convents. The pretext was the necessary reformation of the irregular conduct of the monks (which no doubt was sufficiently required), but the real object was to replenish the royal exchequer, and at the same time to revenge the opposition which they had made in the matter of the supremacy and the queen's divorce.* The visitation of the commissioners began in October 1535, and within four years the possessions of 644 convents, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals were annexed to the crown. The clear yearly value of all these houses was, at the rents actually paid, only about 130,000*l.*, but Burnet affirms that their real value was at least ten times as much; and a vast amount of plate, jewels, and goods of all kinds must also have been obtained.

The visitation was carried on with the utmost violence and coarseness. The beautiful ornaments and glorious win-

* It is a curious fact, which may perhaps be regarded as an early indication of Henry's intentions towards ecclesiastical property, that John Harman or Vesey, Bishop of Exeter, who had always been in high favour with the king, and employed in many important transactions, when he founded the grammar school of Sutton Coldfield, A.D. 1527-8, (the very year in which the king's passion for Anne Boleyn is supposed to have commenced,) allotted it to "a learned and skilful *layman*," as it has ever since continued, and appropriated the revenues of the corporation of the same place (also founded by him) to "pious *secular* uses," apparently with the view of screening them from the approaching grasp of pretended reform.

dows of the chapels were smashed down, the church bells were gambled for and sold into foreign countries, horses were tethered to the altars, and cattle stalled in the recesses of the shrines, whilst the valuable libraries were torn up to scour boots and candlesticks, or sold to grocers and soapboilers for the meanest purposes. In the course of spoliation Becket's tomb at Canterbury was broken open, and this former saint summoned, after the lapse of 400 years, to answer a grave charge of rebellion, treason, and contumacy! The case was formally argued in Westminster Hall, and ended in his bones being sentenced to be burnt, and the rich offerings at his shrine (which filled two immense coffers) being confiscated to the crown. The abbeys were partially spared when their chapels happened to be parish churches also, to which circumstance we owe the happy continuance of a few splendid erections, such as St. Alban's, Bath, Tewkesbury, &c.

To gain over popular feeling upon the subject, it was given out that its effect would be to relieve the people for the future from all services and taxes; that in place of the monks and nuns thus driven out, there would be raised and maintained 40 new earls, 60 barons, 3000 knights, and 40,000 soldiers; that a better provision would be made for the poor, and that preachers should be handsomely paid to go about everywhere and proclaim the true religion. It is almost needless to say that these promises were wholly unfulfilled, that pauperism rapidly increased, education declined, proper preachers (owing to the scantiness of their stipend) almost disappeared, and that a great part of the money so iniquitously procured was turned to the upholding of dice playing, masking, and banqueting. Nay, the king had the conscience to demand from parliament a compensation for the expenses which he had incurred in reforming the religion of the state, and actually got a subsidy in consequence. Only about 8000*l.* per annum was granted to endow the six new bishoprics of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, and to place canons in several cathedrals.

The whole country was disturbed in consequence, and a formidable insurrection, under the banner of the "Five Wounds" (*i. e.* of our Saviour), was not put down without some trouble and many terrible executions.

10. But, whatever might be the secret or avowed motives of the king or his counsellors, the deep Protestant feeling which had now gone abroad amongst the people would not allow itself to be put down, and several circumstances combined to strengthen and extend it. Amongst these must be placed, by far the first, the publication of the Scriptures, under royal authority, in the vulgar tongue.

In 1526, indeed, a private translation of the New Testament, by William Tyndal, had appeared at Antwerp, and was eagerly purchased and read in England. The very prohibition which was issued against it by Wolsey, and the zeal of Bishop Tunstall in buying up the copies for public bonfires, increased its spread; and the latter circumstance, in particular, besides increasing the author's means for a second edition, gave the people a deep impression that there must be some palpable contradiction between the doctrines of the Bible and of the clergy who were so eager to destroy it. Another translation was also completed on the Continent, by Miles Coverdale, and dedicated to the King of England, by whom it was not ill received. In 1536 an order was given by the king, upon the motion of Cranmer, in convocation, for an authorised English translation, which was immediately set about, and completed in 1539. This Bible, known by the name of Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, was executed by hands unknown to us, but it is generally supposed that Coverdale was one of the principal persons employed. Injunctions were now issued by Cromwell, directing each incumbent to provide a copy, one half at his expense, and one half at that of the parishioners, which was to be set up in some convenient place within the church, for general perusal.

The king, however, gave strict orders that this liberty should not be used with arrogance or much diversity of opinion; and that the mutual recriminations of "papist" and "heretic," which were found to arise out of it, should be

carefully avoided. The throngs of people round the pillars where the books were chained were very great, and their disputations soon became so frequent and loud that Bonner threatened to take away the several copies which were fixed in St. Paul's.

11. But although the reading of the Bible was thus publicly sanctioned, very confused notions as yet prevailed on the subject of religion, as may be seen in a work called "King Henry's Primer," the second edition of which appeared in 1535. It consists of a collection of tracts on the different parts of divine worship, which are written in a half Popish half Protestant fashion. Of the latter style the boldest instance is, the attack upon prayers for the dead, and the doctrine of purgatory. A circumstance which occurred in 1536 tended to draw Henry to a more strictly Protestant declaration of faith. This was an address from the Lutheran princes of Germany, whose friendship was of great consequence to him against the emperor, who was enraged about his treatment of Catherine. He refused, however, to adopt their peculiar system of religion, known by the name of the Augsburg Confession.

In a convocation held that year certain articles were agreed upon which, after some corrections by the king's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer, and seventeen other bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house, and were finally confirmed and published by royal authority. Beyond the great principle, however, of recognising the supremacy of the Bible, to which were added, as standards of faith, the three ancient creeds, and the decisions of the first four general councils, little appeared in these articles that could be called decidedly Protestant in its character. Latimer entitled them "a mingle mangle, a hotch potch, partly popery and partly true religion, mingled together," and the people at large, although inclined to regard them as an advance in the right direction, were at least as much puzzled as edified by their statements. In 1537 the "Institution of a Christian Man," or "Bishops' Book," appeared, which was re-edited in 1540

by other hands, and with a decided bias in favour of Romish doctrine.

12. In 1537 a new onset was made by Cromwell and his associates in the destruction of images, relics, and shrines, so long the objects of popular veneration. During the researches of the commissioners in the monasteries many ridiculous objects of extraordinary reverence were discovered: such as, some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence, parings of St. Edmund's toes, pieces of the "true cross" enough to have made an entire cross of themselves, and, in particular, a crucifix of enormous size, commonly called the Rood of Grace, which was kept at a place called Boxley, in Kent. This image was so contrived that it could move its head, hands, and feet, and even its whole body, roll its eyes, and bend its brows, according as the offering laid before it was pleasing or otherwise to its masters. Another was the crystal vial, at Hales, in Gloucestershire, which contained, as was pretended, the blood of Christ, which its visitors saw or could not see, according as they were more or less plunged in mortal sin. In reality it was the blood of a duck, renewed every week, and made visible or invisible as required, by turning the thick or thin side of the glass.

A most unjustifiable use was made of one famous wooden image in Wales, called David Darvel Gatheren, of which it had been predicted that it should set fire to a whole *forest*, a poor friar, named Forest, who had abused the oath of supremacy, being slowly burnt over it in Smithfield, whilst Latimer preached a controversial sermon, and the chief people of both court and city looked on. Fresh instructions against images and pilgrimages were issued in 1538, but now rather for their proper usage than total abolition.

13. In this year, however, a change came over the temper of the king, and besides burning John Lambert for his denial of transubstantiation, he forbade the reading or printing of all heretical books, and the marriage of priests, and, in effect, gave himself very much up to the guidance of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was gradually guiding him back into the full profession of the former religion. In 1539 the

parliament passed the famous act for abolishing diversity of opinions, popularly called the Statute of the Six Articles, the Six-stringed whip, and the Bloody Statute, which confirmed the resolutions already passed in convocation, in favour of transubstantiation, refusing the cup to the laity, celibacy of priests, vows of chastity, private masses, and auricular confession. For the rest of the reign this statute remained the rule of faith in the English Church, and many martyrdoms took place amongst those who refused to acknowledge its decrees. Its fierce show of opposition against the pope, who had published a bull of excommunication, and endeavoured to engage the king of France and the emperor in a war with England, was, however, still kept up, and hangings and quarterings went on without remission for denials of the supremacy, and resistance to the wholesale seizures of ecclesiastical property. Not unfrequently a Papist and a Protestant were drawn to Smithfield on the same hurdle; and the extreme difficulty of balancing opinions, so as to suit the temper of the monarch, caused foreigners to wonder how any man could possibly continue to exist in England.

14. In 1543 an act was passed for the Advancement of True Religion and the abolishment of the contrary, which contains some curious clauses. Amongst these is a restriction upon the doctrines hereafter to be set forth in the Interludes, or religious plays, which had now taken the place of the old Mysteries and Moralities, but without their primitive simplicity of spirit. They were, in fact, ludicrous and often indecent satires upon the old religion, although written by grave divines, and generally performed beneath the roof of churches or chapels. It appears, also, that the clergy at this time were not unfrequently in the habit of resorting to alehouses and taverns, of using unlawful games, arraying themselves in unseemly apparel, and carrying armour and deadly weapons about with them.

In the same year the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man," or "King's Book," was drawn up by a committee nominated by the monarch, who himself wrote a

great part of it. This compendium of doctrine permitted the free reading of the Scriptures to the clergy, but declared that from the laity they might be taken away or no, according to the will of the prince and policy of the realm. Transubstantiation and the seven sacraments are still asserted, and other popish rites and ceremonies are, at least, not openly censured. In the public services of the Church no alteration was made to the very close of Henry's reign beyond the omission of a few collects for the pope, and the offices of Thomas-à-Becket and some other saints. The prayers for public ecclesiastical processions and the Litanies were, however, translated into English. To the very death of the tyrant the system of persecution continued with little abatement, and within the last four years of his reign fourteen Protestants were burnt for heresy, and ten Papists hanged and quartered for high treason.

15. A new era opened with the accession of Edward VI., A.D. 1547, the very first year of whose reign witnessed the overthrow of the Romish system of religion, and the foundation of a really Protestant Church. The first parliament which met under the young king repealed the statute of the Six Articles and all the old acts against heresy, and directed that the sacrament should be administered to the people in both kinds. This measure had been preceded by a general visitation of the dioceses by a number of commissioners, partly lay and partly clerical. The injunctions under which these officers acted were of an extremely moderate and cautious character; almost the only change ordered in divine service being that at high mass the Epistle and Gospel should be read in English, and that every Sunday and holiday the priest should read at matins one chapter out of the Old Testament in English, and at evensong another out of the New. Superstitious ceremonies, such as sprinkling with holy water, ringing bells to drive away spirits, and burning blessed candles for the same purpose, were discountenanced, and all images which had been abused by pilgrimages or offerings were to be taken down, an order which was finally extended to images of every kind. Rich shrines and their plate

were also broken up and confiscated to the use of the king, and a fresh seizure made of such chantries, colleges, and free chapels, as yet remained untouched. The funds thus acquired were to have been laid out in the erection of grammar schools, the augmentation of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy, promises which were, however, but partially observed in the end.

16. In the same year an important addition was made to the list of theological treatises in the first Book of Homilies, drawn up by Cranmer and his associates, for reading in churches by priests who could not preach. To the imitation of these printed discourses may be attributed the practice of reading the sermon, which in olden times had been delivered extempore, and generally with great fire and animation.

Early in 1548 a new communion service was published, but, being only preparatory to a more general service, it presented few changes of consequence, beyond the partial abandonment of auricular confession. In midsummer of that year, however, the great work was completed of a new English *Prayer-book*, which entirely superseded the old Latin office of the mass. This all important task was performed by a committee of bishops and other divines, of whom Cranmer and Ridley were undoubtedly the chief. These first began by collecting and examining all the various offices that had been used in different parts of the kingdom, namely, the rituals of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln. The chief differences of the new book consisted in its omission of such parts of the old service as were considered superstitious, and in its being wholly written in English. The principal addition was the litany, which has since received but little alteration. A preface concerning ceremonies (still retained) was placed before this work, which was entitled "The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Chvrche; after the vse of the Chvrche of England."

A new edition appeared in 1551–2, which had been revised by two learned foreigners, Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, and in which considerable additions were made to the services,

and such rites as the use of oil in baptism, the unction of the sick, prayers for souls departed and for the descent of the Holy Ghost at the consecration of the eucharist, were laid aside as savouring of superstition. Simultaneously with the publication of the first book acts of parliament were passed repealing all laws against the marriage of priests, and placing the duty of fasting at Lent and other times upon a new ground, namely, the encouragement of the national fisheries!

17. In 1552 the doctrine of the Church was still more permanently settled by the issue of forty-two articles of religion, which did not differ very materially from those which are at present recognised. Another great work of the archbishop and his colleagues was the reformation of the Canon Law, which had also engaged the attention of King Henry VIII. from the moment of his separation from the see of Rome. Nothing, however, effectual was done till 1550, when a commission was granted appointing Cranmer and seven others to confer upon the subject: these soon produced a complete body of ecclesiastical laws, which was afterwards printed in the reign of Elizabeth under the title of "Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum:" but, as these regulations never received the royal sanction, they have never become the law of the land. It may be mentioned, however, that the provisions against heresy and blasphemy were very severe, and that capital punishment on account of religious opinions was by no means unknown to this new and improved code. Persons guilty of idolatry, witchcraft, or magic, were also to be excommunicated.

No Romanists, it is true, were burned in this reign, but two persons named Joan of Kent and Van Parris, a Dutchman, suffered at the stake for heresies with regard to the nature of Christ. Nor were the officers of the Church itself wholly spared for any peculiar opinions which they might presume to entertain; for Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, on account of his obstinate scruples about wearing the episcopal robes, was committed, for contumacy, to the Fleet, until he consented to a compromise.

18. The first year of Queen Mary's reign (A.D. 1553), like

that of her predecessor, witnessed a total change in matters of religion. The parliament which met in that year repealed by a single statute all the Protestant acts of the last government, and directed that divine service should again be performed as it had been under Henry VIII. The old popish bishops were soon restored to their sees, the reformed prelates deposed, and some of them sent to the Tower. The Cardinal Pole soon after arrived from Rome, and was duly received as the pope's legate; and acts were passed reviving all the old laws against heresy, and repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions, made against the Roman see since the twentieth year of Henry VIII., and resuming all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions which had thereby been conveyed to the laity. Such omnipotent power had the royal mandate in those days, when it could change the whole system of faith in an entire nation by a single word. About half of the English bishops conformed to the alterations, and those who did not were treated so roughly that all the Reformers who could escape made their retreat to the continent, where they established religious societies amongst themselves, which were soon, however, involved in the bitterest quarrels between the puritanical members and those who held more strictly to what they conceived to be the primitive order of the Church.

The fires of Smithfield soon began to blaze once more, and a series of executions took place, which have justly given to this Queen the title of Bloody Mary. The first victim was John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who was burnt on the 4th of February, 1555. He was speedily followed by a train of illustrious sufferers, amongst whom Hooper, Taylor, Ferrar, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, are the most distinguished. All the worst practices of the Inquisition were adopted by the ecclesiastical commission appointed to extirpate heresy; informers of the lowest class were openly encouraged, and the most fearful tortures resorted to without the slightest scruple. The total number of persons who perished in the flames for their religion during this reign has been variously reckoned at 277 and 288, amongst whom were 5 bishops, 21 divines, 8 gentlemen, 84 artificers, 100 husbandmen, servants, and

labourers, 26 wives, 20 widows, 9 unmarried women, 2 boys, and 2 infants, of which last one was whipped to death by the savage Bonner, and the other springing out of the mother's womb at the stake was mercilessly thrown back into the fire. The number of those that died in prison was also very great. Yet England may be considered as comparatively free from persecution during this period, for all over the continent the victims of bigotry were reckoned, not by hundreds, but by thousands, and in the Netherlands alone 50,000 persons are said to have lost their lives in the religious wars of the Spaniards.

19. A. D. 1558. Although the private feelings of our great Queen Elizabeth leaned strongly to many of the ancient forms and doctrines, yet it is under her rule that we are to look for the final settlement of the English Church in that shape in which it has descended to us of the present day. Her course at first was very cautious and careful, but in 1559 the acts of Henry VIII. against the jurisdiction of the pope, and the statute of Edward VI. ordaining communion in both kinds, were revived; the old laws against heresy again repealed; an oath of supremacy enacted; the Book of Common Prayer (which was, however, revised with some conciliatory alterations) imposed by an Act of Uniformity, with severe penalties for its neglect or abuse; the first fruits and tenths of benefices restored to the crown; and the marriage of the clergy, though not positively favoured by the queen, allowed at least to pass without notice. The oath of supremacy was at once rejected by all the bishops, with one exception, (Kitchen of Llandaff,) and they were all, in consequence, deprived of their sees, but were not generally treated with any further rigour.* Their places were soon

* The oath of supremacy ran as follows: —

"I, A.B., do utterly testify and declare that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, *as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal*, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm;

filled up by the more eminent exiles of Queen Mary's time, who now returned in great numbers from abroad.*

20. Meanwhile preparations were being made for a general visitation of the national clergy, and a set of injunctions drawn up for its guidance. According to the report of these visitors, out of 9,400 beneficed clergy in England, all who chose to resign their benefices rather than comply with the reformed system, were (besides the bishops) only 6 abbots, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors; so that almost the whole body of parochial clergy adopted the Reformation without murmur or opposition. Stability and order were also given to the Church by the publication of the Thirty-nine Articles as revised by the bishops and adopted by the convocation in 1562. They were subscribed again in English, as well as Latin, in 1571, when subscription to them was also made imperative upon all ecclesiastics.

Another inestimable help to true religion was a new translation of the Scriptures (called Parker's or the Bishop's Bible, from the share which Archbishop Parker took in it), which appeared in 1568, and was reprinted in 1572. This was the authorised edition; but another version, executed by Coverdale at Geneva, and published in 1560, was the favourite of the English and Scottish Puritans till the present authorised version came out under James I.

21. From the moment of its permanent foundation the Reformed Church of England was exposed to the bitterest

and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities, granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

* The first Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth was Matthew Parker, consecrated at Lambeth on Sunday the 17th December, 1559, by Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Coverdale of Exeter, and Hodgkin, suffragan Bishop of Bedford. From this prelate all our bishops derive their orders, and the Roman Catholics have accordingly made many a desperate attempt to disprove the validity of his consecration, but all in vain.

hostility from two most opposite quarters — the Roman Catholic party on the one hand, and the daily growing body of Puritans on the other. To counteract the influence of the first, two acts were passed in 1559, one of which enforced the oath of supremacy upon all persons holding any office spiritual or temporal, on pain of deprivation, and punished all writing or preaching against it with fine and imprisonment; and for the third offence with the loss of life on the scaffold. The execution of this law was entrusted to the Court of High Commission, and became an instrument of terrible power in the hands of the crown. The other enjoined the universal use of King Edward's Prayer Book by the clergy, under the penalty of deprivation and imprisonment, and punished all speaking against that service book, or the use of other forms, with fine and imprisonment for life. A fine of a shilling was also imposed upon every person absent from Church, without reasonable cause, on any Sunday or holiday. Prosecutions under these acts began, as a matter of course, almost as soon as they were passed.

In 1571 the religious insurrections of the Earl of Northumberland and the lately published Bull of Excommunication, issued against the queen by Pope Pius V.*, rendered still more stringent measures necessary, and several new acts were passed upon the subject of treason, especially directed against the adherents of Rome. But the penal laws, properly so called, as being expressly aimed at the open profession of Popery, commence with the year 1581. In that year, and afterwards in 1585, 1587, and 1593, statutes were passed making it high treason to absolve the queen's subjects from their allegiance, or to receive such absolution, or to withdraw them to the Romish religion, or to be so withdrawn. Jesuits and other priests ordained out of England, if they came into the realm, and all English subjects educated in foreign colleges, who did not immediately return home and take the oath of supremacy,

* This bull was daringly nailed with a dagger to the Bishop of London's gate by a man named John Felton, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered for his crime.

were involved in the same capital charge, and the receivers of such priests were made felons without benefit of clergy. The fines for saying or hearing mass and for neglect of the Church service were raised to an immense height; and, finally, all "popish recusants convict" over sixteen years of age were forbidden to move five miles from their place of abode without written license from the bishop or deputy lieutenant of the county, on pain of forfeiting their goods, and the profits of their lands during life. Those who had not goods enough to make the fine sufficiently grievous were obliged to abjure the realm, or be deemed felons without benefit of clergy. Under these severe laws scarcely a year passed without several Roman Catholics being sent to the gibbet — always, it is true, under the convenient colour of a political offence.

22. The Nonconformists on the Protestant side were not less troublesome nor less hardly treated during this reign. The first symptoms of variance had originally appeared under Edward VI., when some foreign divines who had been invited into England, and some Englishmen who had travelled or studied abroad, started a few objections to the discipline of the Church, especially to the wearing of the square cap, tippet, and surplice. This spirit was much increased by the large emigration of English Protestants, under Queen Mary, to the continent, where many of them imbibed the peculiar opinions of the foreign reformers. These mostly retired to Geneva, where they established a new form of service, borrowed from that of the French Protestants, without litanies or responses, and accompanied by hardly any rites or ceremonies; whilst the warmer adherents of the English system remained in the city of Frankfort, where they scrupulously kept up the Prayer Book of King Edward.

These latter supplied nearly all the episcopal sees upon their return, whilst their Puritan brethren at Geneva became in due time the fathers of modern dissent. The early disputes were, however, still confined to ceremonial matters (although the Act of Uniformity prohibited their "schismatical" notions upon these points quite as much as the "heresy" of the Papists), but these shortly led to higher

subjects, and, at length, to the avowed intention of substituting the entire Geneva system for that of the Church of England.*

23. At first, however, many of the puritans overcame their scruples, and accepted livings in the Establishment; whilst their insignificant deviations from the appointed forms were winked at by the authorities. Indeed, had they not done so, the churches would have been but poorly furnished with preachers, for scarcely any were to be found in the country qualified for the office. Archbishop Parker, however, was greatly dissatisfied with this laxity; and at length proceeded to suspend all who refused to subscribe an agreement of submission to the queen's injunctions in regard of habits, rites, and ceremonies. Great numbers of ministers were thus ejected from their cures, and thrown upon the world in a state of destitution. Some of these having ventured to write in vindication of their opinions, an order was issued by the Star Chamber that no person should print or publish any such book, upon pain of forfeiting all the copies, suffering three months' imprisonment, and being held incapacitated from ever again exercising the art of printing. Under these circumstances, the ejected clergymen resolved to separate entirely from the Establishment, and set up a service of their own in such places as they might safely assemble in for its use. This separation first took place in 1566.†

* The system of Church government adopted by Calvin at Geneva was more like that of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland than any form assumed by English dissent, but innovations were not long in making their appearance, and various sects of dissenters accordingly arose in this country, united chiefly by their common hatred of the Church.

† At this time their principal objections to the Church are said to have been, the asserted right of bishops to a superiority over presbyters, and their temporal dignities; the titles and offices of deans and chapters, &c., and the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts; the promiscuous admission of all persons to the communion; the responses in the service, and some passages in the offices of matrimony and burial, with the prohibition of extempore prayers; the use of godfathers and godmothers; the custom of confirmation; the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; the observance of Lent and of holydays; the cathedral worship, chanting,

24. These private meetings gave rise to the new offence of "frequenting conventicles," for which great numbers were brought before the commissioners, and fined and imprisoned for contumacy. The flame was spread still wider by the preaching and writings of Thomas Cartwright, professor of divinity at Cambridge, a most learned, eloquent, and courageous nonconformist. Being deprived of his professorship and expelled from the university, he fled beyond sea, and found means, notwithstanding the strict prohibition of his pamphlets, to circulate them extensively throughout England. For one result of these attacks we ought, however, to be thankful, since they aided in calling forth the "Ecclesiastical Polity" of the immortal Hooker — the greatest work that has ever been written in defence of the Church of England.

Puritan principles had now made their way into parliament, and were favoured by the ambitious Earl of Leicester; but there they were suddenly checked by the determined will of the queen, who even suspended Archbishop Grindal from his archiepiscopal functions for a considerable time on account of his mildness towards the nonconformists. This was followed by increased severities against the latter, several of whom were even put to death under an act now passed concerning "seditious words and rumours uttered against the Queen's most Excellent Majesty." Undeterred by these threats, however, a new race of dissenters arose — the Brownists, or Independents, so named from their founder, Robert Brown, who boldly renounced all communion with the Church of England, denying her wholly to be a true Church, or her ministers true ministers of Christ.

25. The most severe governor of the Church under Elizabeth was Archbishop Whitgift, who succeeded Grindal in 1583. Within a few weeks after his appointment he sus-

and the use of organs; pluralities and non-residency; and the appointment of ministers by presentation from the crown, bishops, or laymen, instead of by the election of the people. Yet these objections, some of which are in themselves of no mean consequence, they were willing to waive had they been allowed a license in such unessential matters as the sign of the cross in baptism; kneeling at the sacrament; bowing at the name of Jesus; the ring in marriage; the cap, and the surplice!

pended many hundreds of the clergy for refusing subscription to a new set of regulations which he had just issued, and obtained from the queen a new commission, with such extraordinary powers of inquisition and of punishment, that the parliament thought it necessary to interfere. They were stopped, however, by a violent message from Elizabeth, who commanded the Speaker not to read any bills for ecclesiastical reformation that might be presented to him.

A special act against nonconformists was also passed in 1592, in which it was decreed that all persons, above sixteen years of age, who should refuse to attend Church service, or should go to unlawful conventicles, or persuade others to dispute the queen's authority in Church matters, should be committed to prison; and, if not conforming within three months, should abjure the realm, a return from which exile was death without benefit of clergy. This order the moderate Puritans evaded, by going to church just as prayers were over, and receiving the sacrament in places where their peculiarities were overlooked; but the Brownists, who could not admit the services at all, felt it with peculiar weight. About four or five years before the close of the reign, however, both parties became more quiet, and punishments and resistance were alike relaxed in the expectation of a change of government. It must be observed, in conclusion, that the Puritans were not treated more severely than they would themselves in all probability have treated others, their own principles being marked at that time by a total want of toleration.

26. The old practice of burning for heresy had not yet entirely gone out of use, two German anabaptists having been consigned to the stake in Smithfield, July 22d, 1575. Fox, the martyrologist, ventured to interfere on behalf of these unfortunate men, but his petition was sternly rejected. A Socinian was also burnt at Norwich; but then he was charged moreover with "words of blasphemy against the Queen's Majesty!"

Such poor remains of the monastic establishments as still survived the ruin of their property were now totally de-

stroyed, three whole convents of monks and nuns being transferred to the Continent at the very beginning of the reign.

27. Statutes against false prophets, conjuration, enchantments, and witchcraft were still issued at intervals, which, as usual, had only the effect of increasing the number.

28. In Scotland the powerful exertions of John Knox and his companions succeeded in establishing, during this period, a Protestant form of worship and Church government, modelled, as far as possible, on the system of Geneva. The reformed religion had been early introduced into Ireland amongst the English settlers; but the natives continued firm in their old faith; and the efforts of their masters to force them into conformity only aided in causing repeated and desperate insurrections. The first Protestant archbishop in Ireland was George Brown, consecrated in 1535–6 by Cranmer, assisted by Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Hilsey, of Rochester.

CHAPTER III.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

1. With this period the history of English literature may almost be said to commence, so rapid and powerful was the outbreak of mind after the Reformation and its concomitant events had broken the shackles under which it had formerly been held. From the 15th century the men of this age derived the habit of founding colleges and schools to a great extent: thus, Oxford received six new colleges from 1511 to 1571; Cambridge eight, between 1496 and 1594. In Scotland a new university was erected at Aberdeen and another at Edinburgh, and two colleges were added to that of St. Andrew's; and, in Ireland, the University of Dublin was founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1591. A great number of Grammar Schools were also endowed at this time, among the chief of which were St. Paul's School (by Dean Colet in 1509), Christ's Hospital (by Edward VI. in 1553), and Merchant Tailors' in London; Cardinal Wolsey's at Ipswich (afterwards suppressed); and Westminster, founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1560. In Scotland the High School of Edinburgh was established, by the magistrates of that city, in 1577.

2. Classical learning, and especially the study of Greek (which was publicly taught, for the first time in this country, in 1512, by William Lilly, master of St. Paul's School), was much promoted by these new schools and colleges, and was particularly patronised by the great Cardinal Wolsey, whose example the Reformers took care diligently to follow. A violent opposition was, however, raised by the older divines and scholars, especially when it was seen what use was made of the Greek Scriptures by the advocates of the Reformation, and how commonly an inclination in favour of the new opinions

went along with the study of the new language. The learned Erasmus for some time attempted to expound the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras in the schools at Cambridge; but his lectures were deserted, his edition of the Greek Testament proscribed, and a severe fine imposed upon any member of the university who should be found with it in his possession.* Both the English and continental universities were now, indeed, divided into two hostile parties, called Greeks and Trojans; and even a more correct pronunciation of Greek gave rise to a new division in the first party, which, like all the disputes of the time, took the colour of religion, the Romanists favouring the old pronunciation, the Protestants the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress these quarrels, and succeeded in preserving our barbarous native sounds by threats of whipping, degradation, and expulsion!

3. The various discussions to which the progress of the Reformation gave rise, tended, however, to withdraw men's minds from the pursuit of classical learning, to which also the general robbery of the Church and the suppression of the monasteries greatly contributed. The schools which had been so extensively connected with those seats of retirement from the world, were but ill replaced by the comparatively scanty supply of grammar schools afterwards founded; and extreme ignorance continued to be very general amongst the people, at least in the rural districts. The children of the higher ranks were, however, educated for the most part at home, and seem to have been carefully instructed in English, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, writing, arithmetic, history, and music, besides the manly exercises suited to their age and condition.

* This book was published in 1516, and with the magnificent Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, published in 1522, formed the earliest editions of the Greek Testament which were given to the world. Upon their appearance in England some of the monks exclaimed from the pulpit "that there was now a *new language* discovered called Greek, of which people should beware, since it was that which produced all heresies; and there had also another language started up which they called Hebrew, and they who learnt it were termed Hebrews!"

4. The hostility of the Reformers was particularly directed against the old scholastic theology and the canon law, the study of both which was formally suppressed by Cromwell's visitors in 1535. Strange and miserable as the old system had been, this violent overthrow had yet a very injurious effect for some time upon the cultivation of divinity. Upon the whole, however, although the universities did not produce the same number of scholars as in former times, this may well be called a learned age, if we consider the extent to which the learned languages entered into general education, and the eminence of the names which it has presented to the world.*

5. Towards the close of the 16th century the English language arrived at its full maturity, and presented very nearly the same form as at the present day. At its commencement, however, our native speech was of a very different character, and only settled into its final shape by successive and gradual alterations. A few extracts from writers of the time, arranged in chronological order, will serve to mark the variations of a tongue which was at length crowned with the undying compositions of a Shakspere and a Hooker.

I. From the Ship of Fools, by Barklay, 1508.

I am the first foole of all the whole navie
To keepe the pompe, the helme, and eke the sayle:
For this is my minde, this one pleasure have I,
Of bookes to have great plentie and apparayle.
I take no wisedome by them, nor yet avayle,
Nor them perceave not, and then I them despise:
Thus am I a foole, and all that sue that guise.

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* Such as Cranmer, Ridley, Tunstal, Gardiner, Cardinal Pole, Sir John Cheke, Dean Colet, Lilly the grammarian, Grocyn (one of our best early Grecians), Leland the father of English antiquities, Linacre, More, Ascham, Haddon, Buchanan, Parker, Andrewes, &c. Women also distinguished themselves highly in classical literature, and Queen Elizabeth herself was an excellent scholar.

But if it fortune that any learned men
Within my house fall to disputacion,
I drawe the curtaynes to shew my bokes then,
That they of my cunning should make probation:
I kepe not to fail in altercation.
And while they commen, my bokes I turne and winde,
For all is in them, and nothing in my minde.

II. Skelton's Boke of Phylipp Sparowe, about 1[illegible]

It had a velvet cap,
And would sit upon my lap,
And seke after smal wormes,
And sometimes white bread crommes.
Sometime he wold gaspe
When he saw a waspe,
A flye or a gnat,
He wold fly at that,
And pretely he wold pant
When he saw an ant.
Lord, how he wold hop
After the gressop.
Si in—i—qui—ta—tes
Alas I was evil at ease,
De profundis clamavi
When I saw my sparowe dye.

III. Roy's Rede me, and be not wrothe, about 1526.

Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde,
Borne up betwene two angels off Sathan,
The six blouddy axes in a bare felde,
Sheweth the cruelte of the red man,
Whiche hath devoured the beautifull swan,
Mortal enmy unto the whyte Lyon,
Carter of Yorke, the vyle butcher's sonne.

IV. Sir Thomas More's Dialogue concerning Heresies, 1528.

Some prieste, to bring up a pilgrimage in his parishe, may devise some false felowe fayning himselfe to come seke a saint in hys church, and there sodeinly say that he hath gotten hys syght. Than shall ye have

the belles rong for a miracle, and the fond folke of the countrey soon made foles. Than women commynge thither with theyr candels. And the Person byenge of some lame begger iii. or iiii. payre of theyr olde crutches, with xii. pennes spent in men and women of wex, thrust thorowe divers places, some with arrowes, and some with rusty knyves, will make his offerynges for one vij. yere worth twise hys tythes.

V. Lord Surrey's Translation of Virgil, under Henry VIII.*

But now the wounded quene with heavie care
Throwgh out the vaines doth nourishe ay the plage,
Surprised with blind flame, and to her minde
Gan to resort the prowes of the man
And honour of his race, whiles on her brest
Imprynted stake his wordes and forme of face,
Ne to her lymmes care graunteth quiet rest.

VI. Latimer's Sermon before Edward VI., 1549.

In the vii. of John, the priestes sente out certayne of the Jewes to bryng Christ unto them vyolentlye. When they came into the Temple and harde hym preache, they were so moved wyth his preachynge that they returned home agayne, and sayed to them that sente them, *Nunquam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo*, there was never man spake lyke thys man. Then answered the Pharysees, *Num et vos seducti estis?* What, ye braynsycke fooles, ye hoddy peckes, ye doddye poulles, ye huddes, do ye beleve hym? are ye seduced also? *Nunquis ex principibus credidit in eum?* Did ye se any great man or any great offycer take hys part? Doo ye se any boddy follow hym but beggerlye fyshers and suche as have nothynge to take to?

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6. In this period commenced the great improvement of English prose literature. Perhaps the earliest instances are those of Sir Thomas More, especially his "Life and Reign of King Edward V.," written about 1513, in a very sweet and easy style; his friend, Sir Thomas Elyot, also wrote

* This is remarkable as being the first specimen of blank verse written by an Englishman; but whether he invented it or borrowed it from the Italian is disputed. Surrey also introduced the sonnet into our poetry. The next writer of blank verse was Nicholas Grimoald, who was followed by Sackville, Earl of Dorset, in his tragedy of Gorboduc, which established its general use, at least in dramatic pieces.

some pieces, and distinguished himself by executing a Latin and English dictionary. Among the leaders of the Reformation the best English prose writer was Cranmer, whose works are indeed sufficiently copious.

The style of this time is remarkable for its simplicity, and even carelessness; it was formed entirely upon the popular dialect, especially as given in Chaucer and the other old poets, and was wholly free from those laboured ornaments with which authors of the later Elizabethan era abound. The first critical writer of his own language was Roger Ascham, tutor to Queen Elizabeth, who published his Toxophilus (A. D. 1545), as a model of a pure English prose style. The general direction "to the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England," (borrowed from Aristotle,) is most admirable: "To speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do." He was followed by Thomas Wilson in his "Art of Rhetorick" (1553), who complains bitterly of the number of foreign terms and phrases with which some were in the habit of "powdering their talk," whilst others were wont "so to Latin their tongues," that simple persons must think they spake by a revelation from heaven. A brother critic, Puttenham, whose "Arte of Poesie" appeared in 1582, after similar lamentations, lays down as the correct rule for speech or writing, "the usual speech of the court, and that of London, and the shires lying about London within sixty miles, and not much above."

7. In spite of these well meant efforts, however, a singular affectation, called Euphuism, at length set in, and for a time bore all down before it. This extraordinary style, abounding in pedantic and far-fetched allusions, strange new words, roundabout sentences, constant puns and alliterations, derived its name from the "Euphues" of John Lyly, who wrote about the year 1578. So infatuated did the court become with this fantastical English, that it was considered unfashionable to speak in ordinary language. Partly in this style, but distinguished by a most poetical flow and a graceful stateliness of diction, is the celebrated "Arcadia" of the no less celebrated Sir Philip Sydney, which was published in

1593, several years after the death of the lamented author. Spenser, the poet, also stands forth as a prose writer in his "View of the State of Ireland," written about 1580. The greatest, however, of all, and perhaps of all writers that have ever appeared, was the illustrious Hooker, whose eight books of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," published at intervals from 1594 to 1632 (the last long after his death), have ever since served as a perfect model of the dignified elaborate English style.

8. The poetry of this great age, however, claims our chief attention. In the time of Henry VII. we find two names of some note, Stephen Hawes and Alexander Barklay. Their compositions, however, are not of a very high order, nor are they much surpassed by the rude yet free verses of the satirical Skelton in the early part of Henry VIII. Another bitter poetical satirist of that day was William Roy, the assistant of Tyndal in his translation of the New Testament, and a fierce opponent of Cardinal Wolsey.

In this time, also, flourished John Heywood, the epigrammatist, who wrote besides some interludes and a long burlesque allegory upon the differences of religion, in which, saith old Harrison, "he dealeth so profoundly and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himself that made it, neither any one that readeth it, can reach unto the meaning thereof." Indeed, at this time the Scottish poets were far superior to their brethren in England; and one of them, William Dunbar, excellent alike in serious and comic verse, may well deserve to be called the Chaucer of Scotland. He flourished during the close of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. He was followed by Sir David Lyndsay, a writer of great spirit, wit and variety.

9. But a higher and nobler school of poetry soon arose in England, with the exquisite productions of Howard, Lord Surrey, whose career was sadly shortened by the capricious tyranny of Henry VIII. He was beheaded in his twenty-seventh year, on an obscure charge of treason, in 1547, a few days before the king's death, which his father, who was involved in the same accusation, more happily outlived. This

gallant knight and accomplished poet sought his best models in Italy, and thence imported a refinement and polish which the language had hardly known before. The first publication of his poems in 1557 comprised also those of Sir Thomas Wyatt, a less gentle but more forcible composer, who also exercised a considerable influence upon the general style of the day. Two years after appeared two pieces of Thomas Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, which exhibit a strength and splendour of imagination superior to almost any thing which had gone before.

But all these bards sink into the shade before the genius of EDMUND SPENSER, the most truly poetical of all our ancient poets. His great work, the Faery Queen, presents the most extraordinary grouping of purely imaginative visions following each other in an endless series, and the most vivid embodiment of strictly allegorical characters, that have ever appeared in the English tongue. It was published in 1590 and 1596, though (to our irreparable loss) in an unfinished state. Side by side with this immortal spirit, stand the earliest pieces of WILLIAM SHAKSPERE, namely, his Venus and Adonis (1593), Tarquin and Lucrece (1594), Passionate Pilgrim (1599), and his Sonnets, which did not, however, appear in print till 1609.* Shakspere's early poetry, though full of his peculiar genius, is much involved in the quaintnesses and conceits of the day, and cannot by any means be placed upon a level with his incomparable Plays. These latter, together with the productions of the other great dramatists towards the close of the Elizabethan age, may be taken more conveniently in connexion with the succeeding period, to which they partly belong, and in which their art was carried to its utmost perfection. It may be well, however, to repeat, that the origin of the drama in England may be found in the old miracle plays, and their successors, the moralities, which, along with the *physique* of the stage, will be again noticed under the head of Manners and Customs.

* Need it be added that Shakspere was born at the far-famed Warwickshire town of Stratford-on-Avon, in the year 1564, and died at his native place in 1616?

10. Before the close of the 16th century, scientific speculations had made rapid advances throughout the Continent, and extended in some degree to England: trigonometry, algebra, and arithmetic, had been brought almost to perfection in Germany and Italy; the true system of the universe had been pointed out by Copernicus; and the instruments of astronomical observation vastly improved by Tycho Brahe: the variation of the compass had been observed by Columbus; and mechanics and optics had received the most important aids. The eye, in particular, which had been assisted by spectacles since the early part of the 14th century, was now carefully studied, and some of its peculiarities displayed. The structure and functions of the human body were also diligently examined, both in Italy and France; and the Hippocratic method in medicine cultivated and advanced, as well as new and improved systems of treatment introduced. The foundations of modern zoology had been already laid by Gesner and Aldrovandus; botany was revived by Brunfels and Fuchs (from whom the well known plant Fuchsia derives its name); and chemistry pursued in a more scientific fashion by Agricola, Paracelsus, Bartholetus, and others; several new metals were discovered, and the science of mineralogy, with some indications even of geology, opened up.

In England medicine was practised, and taught on the principles of the ancient physicians, early in the 16th century, by the learned Linacre, founder of the medical lectureships at Oxford and Cambridge, and first President of the College of Physicians founded by Henry VIII. in 1518. He was followed by John Key or Caius, who endowed Caius' College at Cambridge, and lived through the dreadful sweating sickness which ravaged this country at intervals from 1485 to 1551, when, in Westminster alone, it carried off 120 persons in one day. In botany and zoology some valuable works were published by William Turner in 1551, and in subsequent years; the north and south poles of the magnet were described by Robert Norman in 1581; and at the head of the modern sciences of navigation and electricity stands

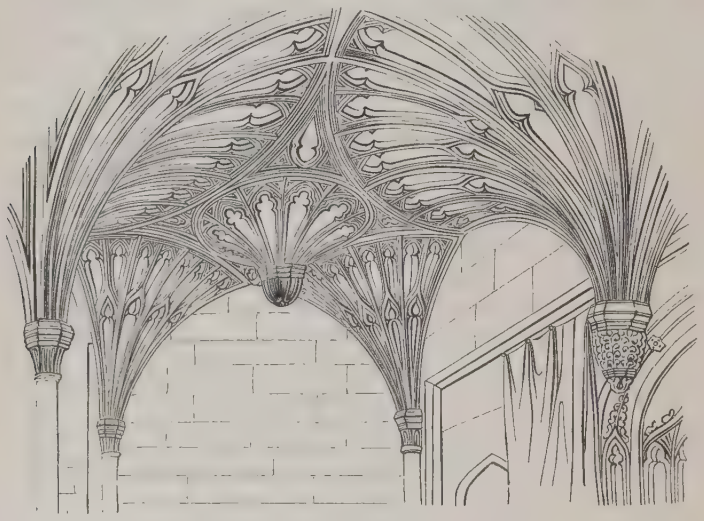
Dr. William Gilbert, the supposed inventor of artificial magnets, whose treatise appeared in 1600. Bishop Tunstall published a Latin treatise on arithmetic in 1522, but of no great merit. The first English writer of any excellence who wrote in his native tongue on arithmetic, geometry, or astronomy, and to whom we owe, moreover, the introduction of algebra, and, perhaps, of the Copernican system, was William Recorde, whose first work appeared in 1551. A contemporary Copernican was John Field, although the system of Ptolemy was still openly taught. In 1573 the first English translation of Euclid was published by Dr. Dee, the famous astrologer and magician, but the work was probably executed by Sir Henry Billingsley.* Dee wrote some other astronomical works, and, in conjunction with Recorde and Leonard, and Thomas Digges (the latter of whom gave the first notice in English of spherical trigonometry), may be placed at the head of mathematical science in this country during the 16th century.

11. The history of ecclesiastical architecture, which had reached its extreme point of richness in the 15th century, may be considered as terminating with the reign of Henry VII., no building of consequence being originated under his successor, or even in the 16th century, except the abbey church of Bath, which was begun in 1500. This, of itself, is sufficient to show that there is no such intimate connexion between the measures of the Reformation and the decline of architecture, as has been often supposed; although the destruction of the monastic revenues may have no doubt assisted in producing a less expensive or laborious mode of building.

The DEBASED style of Tudor Gothic may be dated from

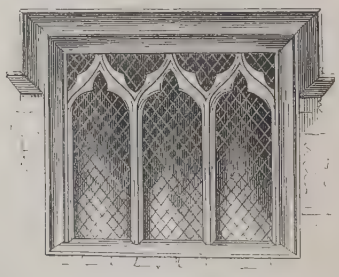
* The first Latin translation of the "Elements of Euclid," by Campanus, appeared at Venice in 1482, and the original Greek was printed in 1530. In 1543 they were turned into Italian by Tartalea, into German by Scheubel and Holtzmann, in 1562 and 1565, and into French by Henrion, probably in 1565. Dee's translation seems to have been either originally made, or at least corrected, from the Greek text, and contained the whole of the fifteen books commonly considered as the Elements.

the year 1540, and continued to about the middle of the 17th century, although it is difficult to assign a precise date



Late Perpendicular Roof — Chantry, Tong Church, Salop.

for either its introduction or discontinuance. Its characteristics are a general heaviness and negligence of detail; doorways with exceedingly depressed arch-heads, or plain round tops keystoned after the Italian semi-classic style, which now began to prevail; square-headed windows, with plain vertical mullions and undecorated lights, or pointed,

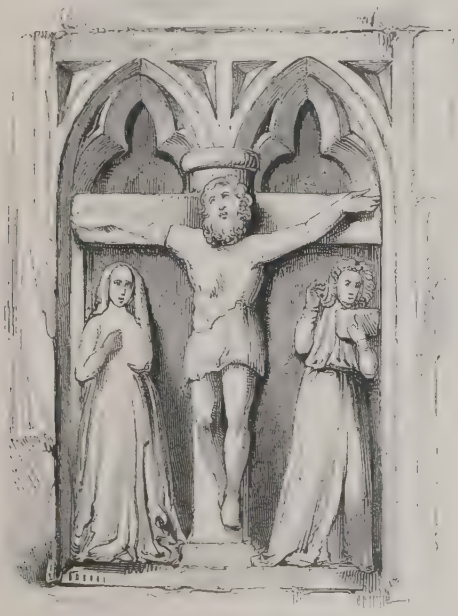


Debased Window — Ladbrook Church, Warwickshire.

with simple intersections and wretched tracery. Shallow and flat carved panelling, with round arches, arabesques, scroll

work, and other nondescript ornaments, adorned the pews, pulpits, and screens; and, as if to immortalise the peculiarities of their barbarism, the builders generally introduced a stone in the masonry, or a carved board in the woodwork, with the date of erection, staring forth in broad unmistakeable figures. By the commencement of the 18th century, however, this coarse mixture of impure Gothic and half classical forms had entirely disappeared, and the unblended Italian mode appears to have generally prevailed.

12. The internal arrangements of churches also underwent a considerable change during this period. The seats for the congregation were anciently a solid mass of masonry raised against the wall, and open wooden benches or pew-work are rarely found before the 15th century; nor was it till about the middle of the 17th century that high closed



Rood — Sherbourne Church, Dorsetshire.

pews and galleries were set up, ornamented with the flat shallow carved work of the time. Pulpits, whether stone or

wooden, are but seldom found of an earlier date than the 15th century, and even then not universally. Those of the reign of Edward VI. are also rare, and even of Elizabeth not very common. Their ornaments varied of course with the style of the period. The splendid carved roodlofts, with their figures of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and St. John, were generally destroyed at the Reformation, and the royal arms set up over the chancel arch; but the rood-screen on which they had been supported, and which extended across the opening from the nave into the choir, was not unfrequently allowed to remain, as were also the curiously carved stalls in the choir. The ancient reading desk was a small moveable lectern, like those still seen in cathedrals; and the large modern reading-pew or desk is first noticed in the canons of 1603.

But the greatest change was in the altar, which, from a massive stone slab marked with crosses, covered with rich frontal cloths, consecrated and anointed, and fitted up with crucifix, candlesticks, pix and monstrance, wine and water cups, sacring bell, pax table, holy water stoup, thurible or censer, chrismatory, offering basin, chalice and paten; with

Decorated Piscina and Tomb — Long Wittenham Church, Berks.

its accompaniments of sedilia, piscina, credence table, locker or aumbry for the paten and chalice, holy sepulchre, reredos,

and enclosed relics *, was suddenly converted into a wooden table left purposely loose from the wall, decently covered with carpet or silk, and ornamented only with the ten commandments painted up on either side. These communion-tables were

Ancient Communion Table — Sunningwell Church, Berks.

often richly carved in the legs, and were first enclosed with rails in the beginning of the 17th century. The credence table

* The pix was a small box in which the host was reserved for the sick; the sacring bell was rung upon its elevation and adoration, and the monstrance was a vessel of glass or crystal, in which it was exposed to the view of the congregation; the pax table of silver or metal was placed to receive the kiss of peace before the communion was received; the chrismatory for the sacred oil used in extreme unction; the sedilia were a row of stone seats varying from one to five in number, in the south wall of the chancel for the officiating priest and his attendants; the piscina, a hollow stone drain in an ornamented niche in the wall, into which the priest poured the water in which he washed his hands or rinsed the chalice before and after the consecration of the elements; the credence table (from the Italian, credenzare, *to taste beforehand*, from the practice of cup-bearers tasting the wine at feasts), a shelf of stone or wood over the piscina, on which the necessary vessels were placed ready for use (in the early church this was supplied by a side table called the προθεσις, or table of preparation); the holy sepulchre was a moveable wooden structure placed in a large arch in the north wall on Good Friday, for the reception of the crucifix and host, which were solemnly watched there till Easter Sunday; and the reredos was a rich screen of tabernacle work at the back of the altar.

was, however, occasionally retained, and the altar-like reverence still shown to the communion-table was a frequent cause of complaint amongst the rigid Puritans; who, at length, during the Commonwealth, took it entirely away from the east end of the church, and placed it so that the communicants might sit quite round it. The fresco paintings of Scriptural subjects on the walls were obliterated by coats of whitewash, and texts of Scripture inscribed in their place. Even in matters indifferent, the ardour of Reformation often led to such wanton spoliation and needless injury, that the royal authority was at length called in to suppress the total desecration of churches by the rude hand of pretended improvement.

13. What was lost, however, in ecclesiastical architecture, was in some degree made up in domestic, which now assumed an air of magnificence unknown to the old castellated times. The first instance of an English royal palace (that happy combination of house and castle) built upon a regular plan and in the peculiar Tudor style, is the palace of Sheen, at Richmond, erected by Henry VII. The most striking characteristics of this style are the multiplicity of domed turrets, gables, and richly ornamented groups of chimnies, with immense surfaces of window, and large projecting oriels of fine character. The gateways, indeed, retain much of their old castellated forms and proportions, but are also frequently decorated with lofty oriel windows. Tracery is now almost entirely laid aside, carving sparingly introduced, and the cornices and other mouldings reduced to the most simple forms. Brick had by this time come into great use as a material for building, and much of the rich effect in our old mansions depends upon the lively contrast between it and the surrounding stone work.

14. The foreign artists who entered the service of Henry VIII. brought with them the classical architecture which they had just seen revived in Italy, in which country, indeed, the Gothic had never been perfectly received. The effects of this innovation upon ecclesiastical buildings have been already noticed, and it now remains to trace its influence

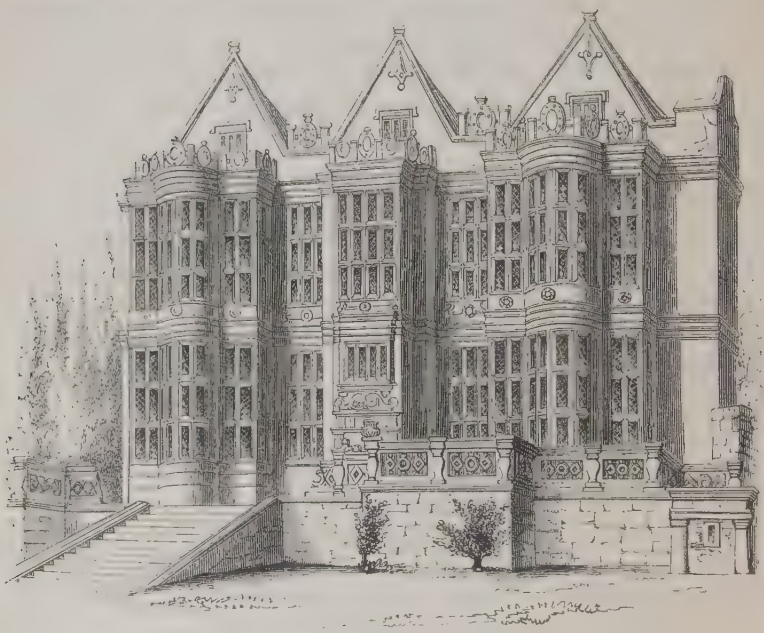
upon the residences of the higher ranks. Until the middle of the 16th century, however, it was only perceived in the decorations, the design and construction of the fabric being still left to native genius; traces of this character may be especially found in the old drawings of the celebrated palace of Nonsuch, at Cheam in Surrey, built by Henry VIII.

From the arrival of John of Padua and his appointment to the office of "Deviser of his Majesty's Buildings," in 1544, may be dated the complete introduction of Italian or Palladian architecture into England. This architect was a pupil of the Lombard School, to which Venice owes so many picturesque edifices, and erected his first great mansion in London for the use of the Protector Somerset. From this time a combination of the Gothic and the richer classical styles universally took place, but in very various degrees, and with more or less propriety of union, according to the taste and skill of the architect.

15. By the progress of this new style the whole plan and arrangement of the mansion, both within and without, was soon materially affected. Now first came in the stately Terrace, with its broad flights of steps descending into an Italianised garden filled with marble fountains and grottos, vases and mythological figures, and all manner of quaint conceits. The great hall was now appropriated to its modern use of a mere entrance, and the Italian mode of placing the principal apartments on the upper floor led to the enlargement and decoration of the staircase, henceforth a main feature in the construction of a house. The great gallery on the upper floor was also found to be a necessary appendage for the splendid pageants and immense entertainments of the age. Fine existing specimens of the larger mansions may be found at Longleat, Burleigh, Hatfield, Hardwick Hall, &c. &c.

16. The smaller country houses of the Anglo-Italian school show an equal advance in social comforts, but town buildings, so long, at least, as they continued to be built of timber, preserved their ancient form, by which their perishable material was best protected from destruction, and the utmost economy of room obtained by tiers of overhanging stories. In their

ornamental details, however, they conformed generally to the taste of the day. Meaner dwellings were still so wretched



The Duke's House, Bradford. (Richardson's Elizabethan Architecture.)

that Erasmus justly attributes the frequent attacks of sweating sickness to their defective ventilation, as well as to the extreme uncleanliness of the inhabitants; the close fixed windows keeping out the air when it was really wanted, and the numerous chinks in the walls letting it in when it was positively injurious. The general introduction of chimneys, however, which took place in the 16th century, would, no doubt, remedy, in a great degree, this inconvenience.

17. Painting and sculpture had attained their greatest excellence in Italy at the beginning of the 16th century, and the names of Leonardo da Vinci, Raffaelle, Michael Angelo, &c., had already shed an everlasting light upon the memory of foreign art; but in England either the pressure of sterner business, or the native disposition to purchase rather than produce, seems to have quenched the home-born genius of

the land. To stranger artists, and especially to our dear foster-son, Hans Holbein, do we owe our connexion, in any way, with the progress of painting in the early part of this period. This eminent man first arrived in England, with an introduction to Sir Thomas More, in 1526, but ere long the king took him into his own service, and assigned him an apartment at Whitehall, with a salary of 200 florins, besides separate payment for each of his pictures. In this country his pencil was almost entirely devoted to portraits, although in former times he had successfully studied the higher branches of the art. The great sculptor under Henry VIII. was Pietro Torregiano, a Florentine, who executed (with the help of some English assistants) the splendid tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey. Henry VIII. had designed a magnificent monument for himself and Jane Seymour, to be wrought by another Italian, but it was discontinued at his death, and its remains were melted down by the parliament in 1646. He formed, moreover, a collection of pictures, which contained some of the best Italian and Flemish productions, and became the nucleus of that under Charles I.

18. Under Mary we find a Dutch painter of some merit, Sir Antonio More, who came over to paint her portrait, but at the queen's death he returned to the continent. Elizabeth seems to have had no real taste for the arts, and to have encouraged portrait painting chiefly for the gratification of her own vanity. Most of her artists were still of Dutch or Flemish origin, with the exception of one Italian (Zucchero); but native genius at length appears in our Nicholas Hilliard, a very talented miniature painter, and his still superior pupil, Isaac Oliver. Sculpture during the latter part of the 16th century has little to present to our notice, except that the kneeling attitude was substituted on tombs for the recumbent. The figures, however, were of a poor cast, and decorative sculpture was in little better condition. This state of the art in England was strongly contrasted with that in France, where a finished school of sculpture was now flourishing in high perfection.

19. In music, however, our countrymen had begun to distinguish themselves, and to rival, and even surpass, their brethren on the Continent. The actual invention, indeed, of music in parts, written freely, and not restrained by the laws of simple counterpoint, has been ascribed by an Italian writer to John of Dunstable, who flourished about the middle of the 15th century, and was highly esteemed both in his own and in foreign countries. It is certain, however, that the anthems and madrigals of Christopher Tye (admitted Doctor in Music in 1545) were superior to most of the continental productions of his time. Contemporary with him were Tallis and Birde, who united in composing a noble collection of sacred music with Latin words, which is still highly esteemed. Tallis's pieces, indeed, are familiar to this hour in our cathedrals, and Birde is generally admitted to have been the author of that inimitable canon, *Non nobis, Domine.* Another composer of the day was Marbeck, whose Preces and Responses are still retained in use. Henry VIII. himself honoured the art with his services, and a very tolerable motet and an anthem by the royal musician have been preserved. The age was, in fact, decidedly musical, every gentleman being expected to play or sing in company, and even the grave chancellor, Sir Thomas More, thought it not beneath him to dress occasionally in a surplice and join the choir in Chelsea church. The musical establishment of Edward VI., who was himself a proficient, was upon an extremely grand scale, consisting of 114 persons, besides boy-choristers, the annual expense of which was 2209*l.* Amongst his Gentlemen of the Chapel were Richard Farrant, a most devout and tender composer, and Dr. Bull, first professor of music at Gresham College, and very famous in his own time.

Under Elizabeth the madrigal attained its perfection, and amongst its more distinguished votaries were Thomas Morley, John Dowland, and especially John Wilbye, the first madrigalist, perhaps, that ever wrote in any country. The name of John Bennet may also be added, and of John Milton (father of the poet), which latter composed many good psalm tunes, and in particular the one so well known as York Tune.

20. Of the popular music of the 16th century we do not know quite so much, but although it was certainly inferior in pathos to the Irish melodies of the same date, it appears to have been quite equal to any thing produced on the Continent. Several airs have been preserved in the Virginal Book of Queen Elizabeth, who was well skilled in music, and sang and played with some sweetness. It is strange that no popular ballad was produced on the defeat of the Armada, but a graceful sort of hymn was written just before its descent, which has come down to our times. The light and joyous air of Green Sleeves, composed in the reign of that queen, was subsequently introduced in the Beggar's Opera, and will in consequence never be forgotten.

21. The manufacture of woollen cloth both for the home and foreign market still retained its old pre-eminence, and gave employment to several distinct classes of workmen, besides many artisans engaged in the construction of its necessary tools. It was carried on, indeed, on a small scale, as the policy of the times discouraged the introduction of machinery; and the clothiers were often of a very humble class. The West Riding of Yorkshire and the West of England were already great seats of this manufacture, and clothing towns arose during this period in several other counties: Manchester being especially noted for its rugs and friezes. The worsted manufacture was chiefly seated in the Eastern counties, where many foreign workmen had settled, who were driven out of the Netherlands by the wars in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. These new-comers were exceedingly useful, and introduced many unusual processes in manufactures. Connected with the business of the clothier is the art of making soap, which was brought into London about 1524, and of dyeing, which was now much improved by the importation of new dye woods from Brazil. In 1552 the colours of cloths to be sold in the kingdom were strictly settled by statute, as, indeed, legislation attempted, at that time, to interfere most vexatiously with every branch of manufacturing industry.

The linen manufacture was not of much consequence during

this period; but some encouragement was afforded to it by parliament under Henry VIII.; nor was silk weaving in much better condition. The stocking-frame was invented by William Lee, an Englishman, about 1589; but not meeting with any assistance at home, he carried his improvement to France. Sail-cloth was not made in this country till about 1591; cables and ropes for ships were then mostly made at Bridport in Dorsetshire. The manufacture of woollen caps, which had formerly employed a great number of persons, and been carefully guarded by law from the encroachments of machinery, was now gradually superseded by the use of felt hats, notwithstanding several prohibitions of their use.

22. Iron works were extensively carried on in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, with wood for fuel, which was, however, growing scarcer and scarcer every day; and iron wire was drawn by machinery, in 1565, in the Forest of Dean. The manufacture of pins was now also introduced, previous to which ladies' dresses were fastened with ribbons, laces, clasps, and "skewers" of brass, silver, or gold. Some improvements were made in the tanning of leather, by which the process was rendered more rapid.

Of the ordinary mechanical crafts we have but little information, but they, no doubt, partook of the general advancement of the time. So great was the number of foreign artificers in London, especially in the more costly articles, and so bitter the jealousy of the natives, that, in 1517, a fatal insurrection against all strangers, fomented unhappily by a clergyman, broke out in the city, where it was long after remembered with sorrow under the name of "Evil May Day."

CHAPTER IV.

NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. THE military costume under Henry VII. is distinguished by the war helmet, which was shaped to the head and furnished with a pipe behind instead of on the top, from which one or more feathers of great length trailed down the back. Passguards or plates rising perpendicularly on the shoulders to guard the neck, belong to this reign, as well as the globular breast-plate of one piece with a petticoat or puckered skirt of velvet over an apron of mail, and sometimes a steel skirt made in imitation of the velvet, and called lamboys, from the French lambeaux, *shreds*. Fluted suits of armour now first appear, and the toes of the sollerets are preposterously wide instead of being pointed. Long cuishes, composed of overlapping plates down to the knee, below which the armour was occasionally discontinued, were worn by the demi-lancers and infantry. The tilting-helmet is very flat topped, with a sharp angle in front, and surmounted by the chaplet and crest; and the shield is very fantastically shaped. The tabard-of-arms now ceased to be generally worn, and altogether disappeared after this reign.

Of offensive weapons the sword is marked by a ridge down the centre on both sides, and the halberd has become a regular weapon of the infantry. The harquebus, furnished with a matchlock shaped like the letter S reversed, was now brought into common use, and the yeomen of the guard, who were established by Henry VII., were armed half with guns and half with bows and arrows.

2. The great peculiarity of the armour of Henry VIII. is the revival of what is called the tapul on the breast-plate, by which, from being globose, it was sloped off to a sharp ridge down the centre. Raised armour now appears, the ground

being kept black, and the pattern (which was raised about the tenth of an inch) carefully polished. It was also sometimes

Suit of Armour presented to Henry VIII. by the Emperor Maximilian. (In the Tower.)

puffed and ribbed in imitation of the slashed dresses of the day. The tilting helmet now goes out altogether, and is superseded by what is called a coursing-hat with a mentonnière or throat-piece, which was, however, but a revived variety of the sallet and gorget of the preceding age. The wheel-lock gun was now introduced from Italy, and the dag or pistol, so called from its being made at Pistoia in Tuscany. Many splendid specimens of armour worn at this time are still preserved in the Tower.

3. Under Mary and Elizabeth the armour began generally to terminate at the knee, complete suits being used only for jousting. The peculiar head-piece, called the morion, first appears under Mary, but it underwent various alterations during the reign of Elizabeth. The breast-plates were now made very thick, so as to be bullet proof, and towards the close of the latter reign came down very low on the body, like the doublets of the day, from which article of dress the armour, indeed, generally borrowed its prevailing shape. The fire-arms were increased by the addition of carabines, petronels, and dragons. Troops called carabins are first mentioned as a sort of light cavalry in 1559. The petronel was so called from its being fired from the chest (*poitrine*), and the dragon from being ornamented with the head of one, whence the troops using it were called dragoons. The art of making gunpowder and of casting cannon was much improved in the reign of Elizabeth.

4. The present period witnessed the complete extinction of the once all-ruling spirit of chivalry, although its outward form still appeared to grace the royal festivals; but the military character of the joust and tournament was now scarcely recognisable; the spears were pointless, the swords edgeless, the number of blows regularly measured, and the whole spectacle reduced to a mere holiday sport or pageant. Henry VIII., indeed, in the commencement of his reign, being himself a lusty jouster, strove hard to revive its former glories, but without success; whilst Edward and Mary discountenanced the tilt-yard, and it was only re-opened under Elizabeth for the display of horsemanship and elegant demeanour. In its place came the graceful exercise of riding at the ring, and the less laudable practice of the duello or *duel*, from which last an entirely new system of fence gradually arose.

Instructors in the use of the sword soon became very numerous, and so important, that under Henry VIII. they were formed into a corporation by letters patent, and certain titles and privileges conferred on them according to their degrees of proficiency. The first mode of fighting thus introduced was with sword and buckler, in which they only

struck with the edge, and never below the girdle. A desperate fellow, named Rowland York, however, in the time of Elizabeth, brought in the more dangerous rapier, whose fatal thrust was parried by a dagger in the left hand. Occasionally two rapiers were used, one in each hand, and, as the length of the weapon naturally gave a great advantage, some bullies wore their tucks or swords extravagantly long; but this was put down by Elizabeth, who stationed grave citizens at every gate of London to break the points of any rapiers which were more than a yard in length. One happy consequence of the alteration in fencing was, that quarrels grew less frequent as the weapons employed became more formidable.

5. In archery also a great change took place during this period. Under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the long-bow was still the principal arm of the English army, and proficiency in its use was attempted to be kept up by statutes imposing heavy fines on such as employed the cross-bow or hand-gun, and requiring constant practice in shooting from such as were able to use the ancient weapon. But the more effective fire-arm soon carried the day, and in a very few years after the death of the latter king the "cloth yard shaft" was scarcely to be seen in battle. Towards the close of Elizabeth full liberty was given on the subject of shooting, and the long-bow was henceforth appropriated to the purposes of the chase or of mere exercise. The art of warfare was now much improved, and under Elizabeth young men of distinction were in the habit of frequenting the wars on the Continent for practice in military affairs.

6. The permanent royal navy of England owes its origin to Henry VIII. At first that monarch had but one ship of his own, the Great Harry (built in 1488), to which a second was added by the capture of a Scottish pirate's vessel. In 1512, however, he built the Regent at Woolwich, which is described as the largest ship yet seen in England, weighing 1000 tons, and calculated to carry 700 men.* Henry VIII. also

* This ship was unfortunately blown up with all her 700 men on board, in an engagement with the French fleet a few months after she put to

instituted the first navy office, with the naval yards and storehouses at Woolwich and Deptford, and founded the Corporation of the Trinity House for the regulation of pilots and the ordering of beacons, lighthouses, buoys, &c., to which he afterwards added subordinate establishments at Hull and

The Ship Harry Grace à Dieu. (From a Drawing in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.)*

Newcastle. He also, about 1525, erected, at great expense, the first pier at Dover, and exerted himself to improve the harbours of Devonshire and Cornwall. At the close of his reign the royal navy (classed as ships, galeasses, pinnaces, and row-barges) amounted to 12,455 tons of shipping. It declined, however, a good deal under Edward and Mary.

7. Under Queen Elizabeth, the "Restorer of Naval Glory" and "Queen of the Northern Seas," as she is entitled by old

sea; on which another, still larger, was built, named the Grace à Dieu, which carried 80 guns of various sizes, and was the first English three-decker.

* Built by Henry VIII. in the fourth year of his reign.

Camden, the navy received considerable accessions of force, and at the close of her reign amounted to 17,110 tons. The greatest of her ships at that time is said to have measured 1000 tons, and to have carried 340 seamen and 40 cannon; but she appears to have had some still larger in the course of her reign. For the better defence of her ships she built a castle on the Medway, which was then the usual harbour for the fleet, and made the service more popular by augmenting the mariner's pay.

The little fleet which so gallantly encountered the Armada in 1588, consisted, according to one account, of 117 ships, containing 11,120 men; and by another of 181 ships, of which 34 were men-of-war (five of these being from 800 to 1000 tons each), and the rest private adventurers or pressed merchant vessels. In the Armada itself there were only three ships superior in size to the largest English vessel (the Triumph, of 1100 tons), but then there were 45 ships ranging from 600 to 1000 tons; and though the English fleet really outnumbered the Spanish, its entire tonnage was less by one half. The superior seamanship and gunnery of the English upon that great occasion are too well known to require further notice here, as are also the names and characters of the great naval officers Hawkins, Frobisher, Cavendish, and Drake.

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

1. THE spirit of enterprise and commercial adventure, which so peculiarly distinguishes the English nation, sprang up in the 16th century with a power and might which had never been felt before. The encouragement of trade had, it is true, been a subject of much consideration with Henry VII., but the policy of that monarch was not much in advance of preceding ages. Several commercial treaties of importance were entered into, however, especially with Denmark and Florence, and the company of Merchant Adventurers of London (incorporated in 1505) rose to a consequence which they soon abused by assuming an entire monopoly of the foreign trade; nor did Henry's parliament altogether deny the extravagant claim of these merchants to exact a payment from private individuals for the privilege of trading, but merely limited their charge to the sum of ten marks.

The wealthiest and most important cities at this time in England were London, York, Coventry, Norwich, Chester, Worcester, Exeter, Bristol, Southampton, Boston, Hull, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. As trade and manufactures advanced, however, the old corporate towns began to decay, and less fettered places to outrival them.

2. Two grand events in the history of discovery occurred in the reign of Henry VII., which soon gave an entirely new direction as well as character to the commerce of Europe. These were the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope (discovered by Bartholomew Diaz in 1487, and afterwards completed by Vasco de Gama in 1497–98), and the disclosure of the New World by the memorable voyage of Columbus in 1492. The honour of this last exploit might have been

largely shared by England had not an unfortunate circumstance prevented Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of the great Christopher, from reaching the court of Henry VII. in time to procure the patronage which he sought, but which his brother had, in the mean time, found in Spain. This loss was, however, partly made up by the enterprise of John Cabot and his son Sebastian, Venetians settled at Bristol, who set off on a voyage of discovery under the sanction of the king, in 1497, and succeeded in making the north-eastern coast of America, and afterwards the Gulf of Mexico. Sebastian Cabot was also employed by the king in 1517 to discover a north-west passage, and is said to have actually entered Hudson's Bay. In 1500 and again in 1502 Henry issued fresh commissions for the discovery and investing of new lands; none of which, however, were attended with any success, nor does any advantage seem to have been taken of the countries which the Cabots had already placed in his power.

3. The channel of intercourse opened with India round the Cape changed almost immediately the current of commerce, which shifted from the Venetians to the Portuguese, whose capital soon became the grand centre of Eastern commodities. The trade also increased prodigiously, and it has been calculated that the value of the spices alone brought from Lisbon to the intermediate mart of Antwerp exceeded a million of crowns yearly. New articles, too, such as sugar, ginger, and other productions of the Spanish West Indies, now began to come into the market, besides vast quantities of gold. The force of this influx could not but be felt in England, although our country had not as yet directly embarked in either trade, and a decided increase accordingly took place in the wealth and general comforts of all classes during this reign.

4. Under Henry VIII. the foreign trade with all its advantages continued to spread rapidly throughout the land, and being chiefly carried on with the great emporium of Antwerp, it was of consequence sufficient to put a stop to a threatened war with the emperor in 1528, which would have necessarily destroyed its course. Trading voyages to distant

quarters were now occasionally undertaken by the English, amongst whom we find, in 1530, the enterprising Captain William Hawkins of Plymouth sailing to Guinea and Brazil for elephants' teeth, &c. These voyages soon became common. A great trade was also commenced in 1511 with the Levant and Syria in woollen cloths, calfskins, &c., which were exchanged for silks, camlets, cotton, spices, and wines. A voyage of this kind generally occupied a whole year, and was considered very difficult and dangerous.

An important restriction was taken off commerce in the last year of this monarch's reign by the total repeal of the old usury laws, and by the permission to take interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum. Towards its close the internal trade of the country was also aided by the attention which was paid to the repair of streets and highways. The first act in the Statute Book on this important subject was passed in 1523, and had reference to the weald of Kent. In 1532–3 an act was passed for the paving of that "very noyous, foul, and jeopardous" highway, the Strand, by the owners of houses and lands along its course, a measure which was soon extended to the other thoroughfares in and about London. The country roads at this time were, no doubt, wretched enough, but still so much improved that government expresses could be conveyed from London to Edinburgh in about four days.

5. In 1548 Sebastian Cabot returned to England, and was gladly received by Edward VI., who bestowed on him a pension of 250 marks (166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), and consulted him upon all matters relating to navigation and trade. By his advice in 1553 a company of merchants was formed, of which he was chosen governor, for the prosecution of maritime discovery, especially in reference to the much desired northern passage to China and other eastern countries. Three ships were subsequently sent out under Sir Hugh Willoughby; but the crews of two with their commander were frozen to death in Russian Lapland, and the third alone, commanded by Richard Chancellor, found its way into the White Sea, which had not been visited by a vessel from England since

the days of Alfred. Chancellor made good use of his happy escape, for he obtained from the Czar Iwan Basilowitz some valuable trading privileges, out of which arose, in the next reign, the English Russia Company, a very flourishing and important association.

The cod-fishery of Newfoundland had been carried on for a long time by foreign ships, but the English had made no attempt to engage in it till 1536; this trade became of consequence, however, in the time of Edward VI., who freed it from some restrictions unwisely imposed by the Admiralty. A less sensible act was that of 1552, which restored, on professedly religious grounds, the old usury laws, and prohibited, on pain of forfeiture of the principal, besides fine and imprisonment, all taking of interest whatsoever. The effect of this statute was simply to increase the usury which it sought to check, and accordingly, in 1571, it was repealed, and the act of Henry VIII. revived.

The most important measure of this reign in relation to foreign trade was the abolition of the privileges of the Steelyard Company. This ancient association of the German or Hanseatic merchants in England had latterly lost a good deal of its power through the various changes in the track of commerce, which had raised Antwerp so much above Lubeck, Hamburgh, and Dantsic, and other companies and even private traders were beginning to compete successfully with them. Their greatest rivals were the Merchant-adventurers, who succeeded, at length, in obtaining the withdrawal of their exclusive rights in 1552; but they still struggled on till 1597, when Elizabeth, taking advantage of an attack upon the Merchant-adventurers in Germany by the Emperor Rodolph, shut up their house and put an entire end to their existence as a company. The presence of these privileged foreigners had, indeed, been necessary in former times, when native capital and enterprise hardly existed in the country, but now that these had attained to full vigour, their old fosterers were found to be sadly in the way.

6. Under Mary the Russian Company actively prosecuted its commercial schemes, and sent out an agent to Russia, who

exerted himself to open a trade with Persia, and conducted their affairs with great prudence and success. The event which most affected foreign commerce in this reign was the taking of Calais by the French in 1558. This ancient port, which had been held by England for 211 years, and which had dispensed our wool, lead, tin, and rude manufactures, over the continent, was now replaced as a staple by Bruges in the Netherlands.

The first general statute for repair of the highways, passed in the second and third of Philip and Mary, may serve to show the growth of the internal trade of the country. It enacts, that two surveyors of the highways shall be annually elected in every parish, and that the parishioners shall attend four days a year for the repair of the roads, with wains, oxen and horses, and able men, according to the quantity of land occupied by each; householders, cottagers, and others not having land, to hire labourers or give their personal work and travail. Upon this statute were founded all our highway acts till the time of Charles II., when regular tolls or turnpikes were first introduced.

7. The reign of Elizabeth ushers in a busier scene of national industry, and commerce from this moment assumes something like the wonderful expansion of modern times. In her very first parliament a greater liberality of thought and feeling is evinced by a statute considerably relaxing the old navigation laws. These laws, which prohibited the export or import of merchandise by English subjects in any but English ships, had provoked measures of retaliation on the part of foreign princes, by which the English merchants were "sore grieved and endamaged." Goods were now allowed to be exported and imported in foreign bottoms upon payment of the aliens' customs; and the two great companies of Merchant-adventurers, and Merchants of the Staple, were further empowered twice in the year to export from the Thames in foreign vessels, on payment only of the ordinary duties.

At this time the trade between England and the Netherlands was very great—greater, perhaps, in proportion than any which we now carry on with any single country on the earth.

The value of the wool yearly exported to Bruges is reckoned at 250,000 crowns, the articles of English drapery at 5,000,000; and the whole annual amount of merchandise exported, at more than 12,000,000 crowns, or about 2,400,000*l.* sterling. At Antwerp*, the English Bourse, or Exchange, was the great resort of all merchants, although the French residents were by far the more numerous, and from thence our cloths were exported to all parts of Italy, to the northern countries, and to Germany; in which last country they were received as "a rare and curious thing, and of high price." Marine insurances are said to have been first introduced by the merchants engaged in this trade.

8. A more disgraceful branch of English commerce is generally supposed to have begun in 1562, when the celebrated Sir John Hawkins having heard that *negroes* brought a good price in Hispaniola, fitted out three ships and procured a cargo of slaves on the coast of Guinea, with which he made a very prosperous adventure. Two subsequent voyages procured for this adventurer the unenviable distinction of an addition to his arms, consisting of "a demi-moor proper, bound with a cord;" but we do not hear much more of the African slave trade till after the present period.

9. In 1566 the building of the Royal Exchange was begun in London by Sir Thomas Gresham, who was styled the Queen's Merchant, from his transacting all her money concerns with foreign countries.† Before this time the merchants used to meet in Lombard Street in the open air. The Lord Mayor and citizens of London purchased the ground for 3,532*l.*; the houses on which, eighty in number, were sold for old

* Antwerp continued to be the greatest commercial city in the world, till its capture and sack by the Duke of Parma, in 1585. Amsterdam then took its place as an emporium of trade, and a great part of its manufacturing industry was transferred to England, where a new spirit arose with its arrival.

† It was by his advice that the experiment was first tried (in 1569) of raising a loan for the crown from native capitalists, instead of resorting to foreigners. It was so successful that it was generally followed afterwards.

materials at 478*l*. The building itself was erected by Sir Thomas at his own charge, and was at first called the Burse: but, in 1570, having been visited by her majesty, it was ordered to be called the Royal Exchange. The original structure perished in the great fire of 1666, and has since been very recently destroyed in the same way, and rebuilt with additional splendour. It is vested equally in the corporation and the mercer's company.

10. In 1567, a series of voyages of discovery, chiefly for the purpose of attaining a new passage to India, commenced with the expedition of Martin Frobisher, who set sail with two barks of only twenty-five tons each, and a pinnace of ten tons. After reaching Hudson's Bay, however, and taking possession of part of the coast, the loss of some of his men obliged him to return home without further success. Some stone, however, which he brought with him, and which was believed to contain gold, excited such an interest that he was soon enabled to proceed a second time, with one of the royal vessels added to his squadron. Although the black stone, which he this time procured in considerable quantities, was not very satisfactory when tested, yet so decided was the feeling concerning it, that Frobisher was again sent out with fifteen ships in 1578. These expeditions were so far useful that they much improved our knowledge of the Polar Seas, and a strait in those regions is still known by the name of the gallant commander.

At the same time that the last was being carried on, Francis Drake was performing the second circumnavigation of the globe, the first having been executed by the Portuguese navigator, Fernando de Magalhaens. The object of Drake's voyage was chiefly to plunder the towns and ships of the Spaniards, with whom we were then, notwithstanding, at peace; and it was, in consequence, not publicly sanctioned by the queen. His purpose, however, he achieved most satisfactorily, having run up along the western coast of America higher than any navigator had ever ventured before, collecting an immense booty as he went along. From thence he sailed across the Pacific to Java, and returned home by

the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1580, after an absence of nearly two years and ten months. The queen received him very graciously, knighted him, and banqueted in his ship, which was afterwards preserved at Deptford till it was quite decayed, when a chair was made of one of the planks, and presented to the University of Oxford. The treasure which he brought home was partly paid away in compensations to some Spanish merchants; but the greater part was probably divided amongst the captors, and Drake's successes enabled Elizabeth to take a very bold tone with the Spanish ambassador.

In 1586 another voyage round the world was performed by Thomas Cavendish, with the same object, and with much the same success. Three voyages were also undertaken to the Polar regions, between 1585 and 1587, by John Davis, who discovered the strait which still bears his name. Several South Sea expeditions were also prosecuted, in one of which the Falkland Islands were discovered.

11. By this time a direct commercial intercourse with India had been opened by the English. The Turkey merchants (incorporated 1581) sent two agents, in 1583, by an overland route through Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, whence they sailed to Goa, from which place one of them visited Agra, Bengal, Pegu, Ceylon, and Cochin, before returning to England in 1591. This route, however, did not answer; and accordingly, in 1591, three trading ships sailed round by the Cape of Good Hope, one of which, after many disasters, reached India, and took in a cargo of spices at Ceylon. This unfortunate bark was afterwards lost in the West Indies, and the captain and crew brought home by a French vessel. Other attempts were equally unhappy; and the India trade was for some time quietly left in the hands of the Dutch and Portuguese. But at length, in 1600, a royal charter was granted to "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," of which Mr. Thomas Smith, an alderman of London, was the first president. Four ships of the company, the best that could be found in England, set sail in the course of the next year, but did not reach Sumatra till

more than twelve months had elapsed. The history of this most important commerce will therefore be found in the next period.

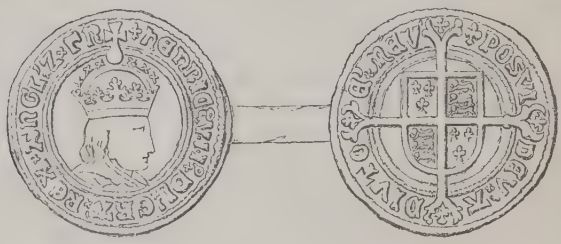
12. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, an attempt was made to plant settlements in some of the newly-discovered countries of the world. In 1576 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "the father of our plantations," sailed for North America, and repeated his voyage in 1583; but both times without success. His step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had accompanied him, made a third attempt, and succeeded in discovering and fixing a small colony on that part of the continent which the queen afterwards honoured with the name of Virginia. This early settlement had a very unhappy issue, and no further progress was made in the work of colonisation under Elizabeth.

13. A new species of maritime adventure, in which the English also began to engage in this reign, was the whale fishery. The first notice of this trade occurs in the year 1593, when some ships made a voyage to Cape Breton for the purpose. The oil at that time seems alone to have been valued, as there is no mention made of the fins or the whalebone. A new company was also established in 1579, called the Eastland Merchants, with the exclusive right of trading to Norway and the countries along the Baltic, a privilege which was not lost till the time of the Revolution.

14. The internal trade of England still depended much upon the periodical fairs or markets held in the different towns, whilst the great annual mart for the whole country was St Bartholomew's fair in Smithfield; to which merchants resorted in crowds to make their wholesale purchases.

15. The currency continued to be depreciated, and even more than in former times, during the greater part of this period. Henry VII., it is true, adhered to the standard of Edward IV. and Richard III., by which the pound of silver was coined into 450 pennies, or 37*s.* 6*d.* nominal money. Shillings, which had hitherto been only money of account, were first struck by this king in 1504. They were distinguished likewise by the head being struck in profile instead

of a full face, as in former coinages. From this practice, which was generally followed in subsequent reigns, the



Shilling of Henry VII.

shillings were often called testoons, from the French teste (tête) *a head*. The number of the royal succession was also added to the name, and on the reverse of the silver money the royal arms were substituted for the usual pellets and place of mintage. A new gold coin now appears, called the sovereign, rose-real, or double rose-noble, of the value of 20*s.*; and there were also half-sovereigns, and double sovereigns: all these are so scarce, however, that it has been supposed that they were only struck as coronation medals.

Henry VIII. greatly debased both his gold and silver coins, which he alloyed with copper to a great extent. The proportions of the pound, indeed, in 1546, amounted to 8 oz. of alloy to 4 oz. of silver, which constituted a positively base coin, the old allowance having been but 18 pennyweights of alloy to 11 oz. and 2 pennyweights of silver. His depreciations were equally daring; for out of the pound of silver he now coined 576 pennies or 48*s.* The gold coins of this monarch were sovereigns, half-sovereigns, or rials, half and quarter rials, angels, half and quarter angels, George nobles *, and forty-penny pieces. In this reign the immemorial privilege of the sees of Canterbury, York, and Durham, for coining small money, was abandoned, the last Bishop that used it being Wolsey's successor, Edward Lee.

* So called from having on the reverse St. George and the Dragon: its value was 6*s.* 8*d.*, whilst the angel was raised to 7*s.* 6*d.* Gold was at this time valued in the Mint at twelve times its weight in silver.

16. Edward VI. carried both depreciation and debasement still farther; but towards the close of his reign he was obliged to restore the currency to something like the ancient standard. He was the first that issued crowns, half-crowns, and sixpences. Little alteration was made by Mary, beyond striking coins with her husband's head as well as her own; but under Elizabeth the coinage was, at length, completely recovered from its debasement, the old proportion of 18 pennyweights of alloy being restored, which has continued to the present day. The number of shillings struck out of the pound of silver was not lessened, however; for it continued to be sixty, as in the preceding reign, till 1601, when it was increased to sixty-two; at which rate it went on to 1816, when it was raised to sixty-six, at which it now remains. Her gold coins are much the same as before, but are distinguished by having the edges milled for the first time. Shortly before her death she had intended to coin farthings and other small pieces of copper, a metal which had not yet been made use of in this country.

17. The condition of the husbandman during this period is sufficiently curious to deserve our attention. At its commencement the stout English yeoman usually lived in a rough dwelling of timber, the walls formed of wattle and plaster, not always furnished with a chimney, and with but few household conveniences. His bed was a straw pallet covered only with a sheet and coarse rug, or perhaps a flock mattress, and a bolster of chaff or a good round log of wood; the farm servants slept upon straw, and not always with a coverlet to throw over them. All dined alike off wooden trenchers and used a spoon of the same material; four or five pieces of pewter plate being the mark of a substantial farmer, who was also exceedingly elated if he could pull out at an alehouse a purse containing six mighty shillings. Only the gentry could eat wheaten bread all the year through; the servants and the poor being content with barley or rye, and in dear years with bread made of beans, peas, or oats, or perhaps all mixed together; and in very great scarcity even these were replaced by tares and lentils. The coarse clothes of the family

were spun by the careful housewife from the wool and flax produced on the farm; from which, indeed, came almost every article required in the house. The want of money for the payment of their low rents seems, however, to have been their principal hardship, the necessaries of life being generally produced, and no doubt consumed, in rude abundance.

18. Under Henry VIII., however, rents began greatly to rise, land being let for twice or four times its former value, whilst the numerous enclosures deprived the poor cottager of many of his former resources. Another change which greatly affected the agricultural population, was the extensive conversion of tillage into pasturage, occasioned by the increasing demand for wool, and which the legislature vainly endeavoured by repeated statutes to check. Penalties were now also imposed for not keeping farm-houses in repair, or for building cottages without some land attached, but with equally slight effect. At the same time, the "gentlemen-graziers," instead of residing on their estates like their honest forefathers, were constantly induced, either by inclination or by the inability of their revenues to maintain their bountiful country life, to betake themselves to town, where they lived in a small way upon the produce of their wool and cattle. Many labourers were thus thrown upon the world, who finding relief no longer at the charitable gates of the monastery, and swelled in numbers by the constantly increasing population*, became at length a huge mass of pauperism and mendicancy, which absolutely required the direct interposition of the state. So widely, indeed, had this evil extended, even before the suppression of the religious houses, that students of the universities were not unfrequently in the habit of begging with a license from their chancellor; a practice which many useless statutes were in vain passed to control.†

* That the population had increased greatly in the 16th century, is proved by a comparison of the capitation papers in 1377, when the total population of England and Wales did not apparently exceed two millions and a half—and the military musters in 1574 and 1575, when it is variously calculated at 4,690,000 and 6,254,000. It cannot, at all events, have been much below 5,000,000, or about twice its amount two centuries before.

† By several of these acts, beggars and sturdy vagrants were committed

The principle of compulsory relief was at length introduced in 1562, when authority was given to the justices in sessions to assess persons obstinately refusing to contribute to the poor of their own town or parish, and to commit them to prison till the assessment was paid. In 1597 the legislation respecting paupers begins to separate itself from that concerning rogues and vagabonds; and, in 1601, the celebrated act of the 43d Elizabeth matured and established the plan for maintaining and employing the poor by means of parochial assessments, which continued unaltered down to a very recent period.

19. The changes to which we have alluded were, notwithstanding, of great benefit to agriculture. The prices of produce rose considerably*, and with them the careful cultivation

to prison, set in the stocks, publicly whipped, deprived of part of the right ear, and finally left at the mercy of any one who might seize them and compel them to work: if they ran away from such service they were branded on the breast with a V, and adjudged to be *slaves* to their employer for two years, during which time every cruelty on the part of the master was legally sanctioned; for a second offence they were branded on the cheek or forehead with an S, and made slaves for life; and, for a third, they were held as felons and put to death without benefit of clergy. All beggar's children also, male or female, between the ages of five and fourteen, might be taken without consent of their parents and bound apprentices or put to service, from which if they ran away they were made slaves, and punished in chains until they attained the age of twenty-four. This mild and merciful act (which was repealed, however, in two years after enactment, on the ground of its absolute inutility) was the happy product of the first year of Edward VI., and was re-established for a time by Elizabeth in 1572. A better trait in some of these statutes was their recommendations to magistrates, churchwardens, and clergy, to procure and distribute the alms "of good Christian people" amongst the really impotent poor.

* The quarter of wheat was sold for 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1485, whilst throughout the latter half of the 16th century it averaged 1*l.* In 1500, an ox was sold for 11*s.* 8*d.*; a heifer for 9*s.*; a wether, unclipped, 1*s.* 8*d.*; 100 eggs, 6*d.* or 7*d.*; a goose, 4*d.*, &c. &c. In 1589, a fat cow was sold for 3*l.*; a milch cow for 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; a fat goose, 1*s.* 2*d.*, &c. Stafford's Dialogue, published in 1581, makes one of the speakers say, that within thirty years a pig or goose had risen from 4*d.* to 12*d.*, and poultry to double and triple their former prices. Other commodities advanced proportionably; a cap for 13*d.*, now cost 2*s.* 6*d.*; a pair of shoes, 12*d.*, formerly sold for 6*d.*, and so on.

of the soil. New manures were now used, such as limestone, sand, street sweepings, and "stone-coal dust," which made one acre bring forth as much as two had done before. The average yield per acre (well tilled and dressed), after the middle of the 16th century, was 20 bushels of wheat, 32 of barley, and 40 of oats or pulse. The rotation of crops, indeed, does not show as yet any very great advance in agricultural knowledge; after wheat or rye they sowed barley or oats in the spring, and then came a fallow. Clover was, however, introduced under Elizabeth from the Netherlands, and was productive, no doubt, of great advantages in the way of winter food for the cattle. A number of sensible agricultural precepts are embodied in old Tusser's quaint poem entitled "A Hondreth Good Points of Husbandrie," which was published in 1557.

The *exportation* of corn and provisions was forbidden in 1534, and several attempts were made to regulate their price at home. In 1554 exportation was again permitted, so long as the price of wheat should not exceed 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter, rye 4*s.*, and barley 3*s.*; this liberty was farther extended in 1562, and again in 1592, when the standard price was raised to 20*s.* By a law passed in 1571, the averages were ordered to be struck once a year by the lord president and council of the North, by the corresponding body in Wales, and by the justices of assize, within their respective jurisdictions; and friendly countries were permitted to have wheat at all times, except there were a proclamation to the contrary. The law of 1463, prohibiting *importation* so long as wheat was under 6*s.* 8*d.*, rye 4*s.*, and barley 3*s.* the quarter, seems not to have been formally repealed, but was in all probability practically inoperative.

The breed of live stock was now much improved, although most of the meat was still eaten in a salted state; and a decided change for the better had taken place in the general condition of the farmer. His house was now generally built of brick or stone, with rooms of tolerable size, and outhouses farther removed from the dwelling. The cupboard was not without its little treasure of silver plate, pewter had superseded the wooden trencher, and the coarse mattress and

bolster were replaced by good feather beds ; money was more abundant too, and the substantial yeoman could often show several years' rent in hand. Wood had become scarce, indeed, but coal was beginning to supply its place ; and in the mean time peat, heath, and gorse, were resorted to by the country people. The Christmas fare of the jolly farmer in Tusser's time was —

> "Good bread and good drink, a good fire in the hall,
> Brawn, pudding and sauce, and good mustard withal ;
> Beef, mutton, and pork, shred pies of the best,
> Pig, veal, goose and capon, and turkey well drest ;
> Cheese, apples, and nuts, jolly carols to hear,
> As then in the country is counted good cheer."

Nor was the labourer altogether excluded from the advantages of the period. On the contrary, the money wages of most kinds of labour appear, notwithstanding many fluctuations, to have fully doubled in the course of the 16th century, many country people were profitably absorbed amongst the artisans of the towns and villages, and trade generally increased. Some labourers appear still to have been in the condition of bondmen or *niefs,* although the old class of villains had disappeared, and instances of their emancipation occur even after the close of the century.

20. The art of gardening received greater improvements during this period than even that of agriculture. The hop (at first a garden plant) was introduced from the Netherlands about 1524, as were also salads, cabbages, the pale gooseberry, and, according to some, the apricot and musk melon. The artichoke was first cultivated some time in the reign of Henry VIII.; pippins came in about 1525 ; currants, from Zante, in 1555 ; cherries about 1540; and several varieties of plums, brought from Italy by Thomas Cromwell, about 1510 ; the gillyflower, carnation, and several kinds of roses, also came over about 1567.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

1. Several novel additions were made to the furniture of houses during the 16th century, such as looking-glasses, brought from France, which superseded the small mirrors of polished steel, in which the dames of former times used to survey themselves; round tables with pillar and claw, brass fenders, and clocks of very curious manufacture. Richly carved buffets, sometimes of silver, elegant beds (of which the great bed of Ware is a fine specimen), splendid chairs, generally straight and high backed, with the centre and bottoms stuffed and covered with velvet, decorated the rooms of the wealthy, and even chamber organs were not unknown. Turkey carpets and others of English work were used, but rather for covering tables than floors, which latter were generally matted or strewed with rushes. A rich green cloth was spread before the royal throne, whence knights dubbed upon it at coronations, &c., were called carpet knights, to distinguish them from those made in the field. Forks were as yet unheard of, but knives (which were first made in England in 1563) and spoons were ornamented with some care.

2. The male costume of the wealthier classes in the reign of Henry VII. consisted of a fine shirt of long lawn, embroidered round the collar and wristbands with silk; a doublet, the sleeves of which were sometimes made in two pieces tied at the shoulder and elbow, and sometimes only slashed, the shirt sleeve protruding from beneath; a stomacher, over which the doublet was laced, and a petticoat; a long coat or gown with hanging sleeves, and broad turned-over collars of velvet or fur; long hose of several colours, and broad-toed shoes or high riding-boots. The hood was now confined to official habits,

and broad felt hats or caps, and bonnets of velvet and fur laden with feathers, were worn in its place. The hair was worn exceedingly long, and the face closely shaved, soldiers and aged persons alone wearing beards or mustaches. Fops wore rich chains round their necks, and their fingers full of rings.

The female dress is chiefly remarkable for the slashing of the sleeves, the square cut of the body in the neck, and the laced stomacher. High head-dresses are now seldom seen, and simple cauls of gold network, from under which the hair hung

Ladies' Head-dresses in the 16th Century. (Repton's Tapestry.)

negligently down, turbans of magnificent size, and a new sort of hood take their place; whilst the great novelty in ornament is the rich girdle with chains or ends hanging nearly to the toes.

3. Under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. the men dressed in a doublet with very full skirts and large sleeves, over which was worn a short full cloak with arm-holes and loose sleeves occasionally attached; it had also a broad rolling collar of fur, velvet, or satin. The hose were either long and fitting close to the shape, or divided into two parts, called the upper and nether stocks, the latter of which finally retained the name of stocking. Caps bordered with feathers, and Milan bonnets of a great variety of shapes, set off the head of the fashionable gentleman; the shoes were exceedingly broad at the toes, and, like the rest of the dress, slashed and puffed.

The clothes of the better sort were of the most magnificent description, and the unceasing attempts of the common people to imitate them were restrained by a sumptuary law in the 24th year of Henry VIII.* The apprentices of London at this

Costume — temp. Henry VIII. (From Holbein's Dance of Death.)

* Shakspere thus describes the great lords at the meeting of Henry and Francis I., near Calais, in 1520.

"——————— To-day the French
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods
Shone down the English; and to-morrow they
Made Britain, India. Every man that stood
Shewed like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
As cherubims all gilt." *King Henry VIII.*

Dr. Andrew Borde, physician to the king, ridicules the vanity of the time in some verses placed under the picture of an Englishman standing naked, with a roll of cloth in one hand and a pair of scissors in the other: —

"I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
Musing in my mind what garment I shall wear;
For now I will wear this, and now I will wear that,
Now I will wear I cannot tell what.
Yet above all things new fashions I love well,
And to wear them my thrift I will sell."

time wore blue coats or gowns (the badge of servitude), their stockings being of white broad-cloth sewed close up to their round slops or breeches. The hair was now cut remarkably close by order of the king, but beards and mustaches were worn at pleasure.

The principal novelty of Edward's time is the very small flat cap (like those still worn by the boys of Christ's Hospital, founded by him) placed jauntily on the side of the head, and sometimes ornamented with a small tuft of feathers or jewels. The ladies' gown was cut square in the neck, but open in front to the waist to show the kirtle or petticoat, sometimes with long trains, and sometimes none, according to the fashion; the sleeves were detached, and generally much richer than the gown itself. Waistcoats are now mentioned for women as well as men, and made of the richest stuffs. The neck was covered with a sort of habit-shirt, with a high collar and small ruff called a partlet. The French hood and Milan bonnet almost concealed the hair; but a great variety of other head-dresses were worn, one of which has become well known as the "Queen of Scots' cap."

4. Under Mary there is not much to be noticed beyond the extravagance of the square-toed shoes, which were at length prohibited by solemn proclamation; but, with Elizabeth, an entirely new style comes in, with an infinite train of ever-changing fashions. In the early part of her reign the general dress was the doublet, but without its long skirts or bases, and showing the trunk-hose breeches or slops, which were distinguished according to their cut or ornament into French, Gallic, or Venetian.* At first these were immensely large,

* An English beau, indeed, of the time of Elizabeth, was a sort of composite of all the fashions of the known world. Old Puttenham says, in his "Arte of Poesie," "May it not seeme enough for a courtier to know how to weare a feather and set his cappe aflaunt, his chain *en echarpe*, a straight buskin *al Inglese*, a loose *à la Turquesque*, the cape *alla Spaniola*, the breeches *à la Française*, and by twentie maner of new fashioned garments to disguise his body, and his face with as many countenances, whereof it seems there be many that make a very arte and studie who can shewe himselfe most fine, I will not say most foolish and ridiculous."

then very close, and, finally, the large breeches came into fashion again. The doublet, too, fitted the body closely at the outset, but by degrees it lengthened in the waist, and towards the close of the reign, by help of stuffing and "bombasting," assumed a form not unlike that of Punch in the show.

The well-known ruff appeared soon after Elizabeth's accession, and gradually increased to a most monstrous size, which caused the queen to give the grave citizens who broke the overlong rapiers orders for cutting also of all ruffs which were more than a nail in depth. Over the doublet was worn a cloak of Spanish, French, or Dutch fashion, bordered with bugles and glass, or a jacket called a mandevil, with or without sleeves. Conical and steeple-crowned hats came in towards the close of this reign, constructed in silk, velvet, taffety, wool and beaver. The stockings were now first ornamented with quirks or clogs (clocks) about the ancles, and the shoes were richly ornamented in different colours; pantoufles, or slippers, were also worn, which went "flap, flap, up and down in the dirt, casting up mire to the knees of the wearer."

5. The female dress partook largely of the French fashion under Mary, and abounded in cloth of gold and gay colours. Afterwards gowns of velvet and other rich stuffs came in, with short sleeves ending at the elbow, but raised to a great height on the shoulder, the under dress being a sort of waistcoat, like a man's, with a rich cloth-of-gold or silver petticoat, fully shown by the opening of the gown. Indeed, the female apparel often bore as strong a resemblance to the male at that time, as the riding-habit does now-a-days. The ruff of lawn, or cambric, was first worn in the second year of Elizabeth, having before that time been made of holland. A terrible difficulty occurred in the way of stiffening these ruffs, which was not overcome till 1564, when Mistress Dinghem Van der Plasse, a Fleming, well skilled in the art of clear-starching, came to England, and soon acquired as much reputation and more money than the late celebrated Beau Brummel, for her elegant mystery. About the middle of the reign the enormous fardingale was introduced, which well matched the

huge trunk-hose of the gentlemen, stuffed out as they were with rags and feathers to a truly portentous size.

6. The hair was now curled and crisped in wreaths and folds most elaborately, and false hair was much worn, especially by Queen Elizabeth, who had wigs of several colours.

Queen Elizabeth going in State. (From an old print.)

Fair hair was the general favourite, and various compositions were used for dyeing darker locks to the proper hue. Hats, caps, and hoods, of all sorts and sizes, cauls of wire net with cloth of gold beneath, and lattice caps with three horns or corners "like the forked caps of popish priests," decorated the well-dressed gentlewoman's head. Stockings of knit silk and of worsted were first made in England during this reign, with which the queen was so pleased, that she wholly abandoned her old cloth hose. The slippers and shoes were fancifully worked in various colours, and perfumed gloves richly embroidered were introduced from Italy by De Vere, Earl of Oxford, to the great delight of his royal mistress. Jewellery of all descriptions was worn to excess, and masks

of black velvet were so much used by the ladies that the ungallant Stubbs declares, that "if a man knew not their guise he would think he met a monster or a devil." Underneath, the faces were painted most carefully, and a profuse application of washes and pomatums preserved the fading splendour of the complexion. The bath was constantly used, and was frequently made of wine or milk, that of asses being considered the best.

When ladies had thus painfully set themselves off to advantage, they were vain enough to sit at the door to exhibit their fine clothes to the passers by, and they seldom went abroad without a small mirror to rectify any disorder of dress or appearance. It is with regret we add, that their teeth were at this time generally black and rotten, a defect which foreigners attributed to their inordinate love for sugar, but which may, perhaps, be quite as reasonably ascribed to their frequent habit of taking the Nicotian weed to excess.

7. The immense retinues of the nobles were now much curtailed, although the change had come on by slow degrees. Under Mary, some of the greater lords had still 200 retainers in their train; but Elizabeth would not sanction more than 100 with any person. These were not fully armed, either, as before, but carried simply a sword and buckler, and afterwards a rapier and dagger. Even this array was confined to particular occasions; and, at ordinary seasons, the nobleman was content with a few of his unarmed domestics, and a page who carried his sword behind him. The royal train, however, continued to be excessively large; and Elizabeth is said upon some occasions to have required an incredible number of horses for the conveyance of her household. At her approach the people expressed their homage by falling on their knees and remaining in that attitude till the royal procession had passed by.

The attendants of the nobles were of three different classes; first came the gentlemen of good family, and younger sons of knights and esquires, who lived upon terms of semi-feudal service with their lord and patron; then the retainers proper, who were of inferior rank, though not obliged to perform any

menial office — these only marched forth upon solemn occasions, and were rewarded with a hood and a suit of clothes, annually, together with daily maintenance and occasional gratuities; last, were the servants who lived in the house and wore livery, which was generally a blue coat with a badge of silver, shaped like a shield, on the left arm, on which was engraven the arms or device of their master; the badge was also worn by the retainers. These aristocratic trains were imitated by persons of lower rank, and even the citizens of London had their apprentices to attend them in state with a lantern and club when going out at night.

8. Pageants of great pomp were still kept up, with all their absurd accompaniments of giants, dragons, hobby-horses, monsters, virtues, vices, religious personifications, and the everlasting nine worthies of the world — all ushered in with the blaze of fireworks, the thunder of cannon, and the clangour of intolerable music — "For the English," says Hentzner, "be vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, beating of drums, and ringing of bells." This last passion (which is still peculiar to England) seems to have quite astounded our foreign visitors, who used to say, either that we had too much money, or did not know how to get rid of it. It is much, however, to the praise of Elizabeth's good sense, that once, in the city of Norwich, she preferred a show of mechanical ingenuity, exhibited by the weavers, to all the wonderful devices of angels, Mercuries, and dragon combats. The most eminent of these pageants was that with which the great queen was welcomed to Kenilworth in 1575, and which, through the aid of Sir Walter Scott, is too well known to require description. The curious reader may find both the tracts which describe this grand ceremony in all its parts reprinted in Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.

9. The ludi, or court spectacles of former times, had now risen to something between a masque and a pantomime: they were especially cultivated by Henry VIII. and his favourite Wolsey, in whose shows a moving mountain would sometimes enter the great hall, adorned with trees, flowers, and

herbage, and studded with wild beasts and savage men, which, opening suddenly, would send forth a gay throng of knights and ladies, or allegorical personages, who having danced and sung before the guests, retired again to their place of concealment. Regular masquerades began as early as Henry VII., and were carried to great perfection by his son and by Queen Elizabeth.

For the amusement of the people there were first the moralities, that quaint species of dramatic representation which had succeeded to the miracle plays and mysteries (whose reign had lasted in all from, perhaps, the beginning of the 12th century to the commencement of the 15th); and, then, the regular drama.* The apparent object of both mysteries and moralities was not only to amuse the people, but to improve them in scriptural knowledge; and they were often acted, as well as written, by clergymen in the older times, and presented in churches and abbeys on Sundays and holidays. Thin, shadowy, and allegorical characters, drawn from these early and half finished pieces, exercised for a long time an influence upon dramatic compositions, and may be occasionally recognised even in the singularly *real* plays of Shakspere. The whole apparatus of the stage was at first miserably deficient — the theatre was a shed, the dresses of the actors little better than their common attire, and the scenery wretched enough to make the shifts of Bottom and his companions, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a sad reality; often, indeed, there was none at all, and, to direct the imaginations of the

* The difference between the mysteries and the moralities, lay chiefly in the characters of the former being always actual personages, whether historical or imaginary; whilst, in the latter, not a history but an apologue was represented, and all the characters were allegorical. In this respect the miracle plays approached much more nearly to the regular drama, by which both were finally superseded. The Devil of the miracles was, however, retained in the Vice of the morals, who relieved the dryness of the long dialogues by flourishing his dagger of lath, and uttering constant bursts of wild buffoonery. This character was even carried into the Shaksperian drama, where the introduction of the clown into the most pathetic parts of tragedy was in full accordance with the popular taste of the day.

audience, a label was hung over the front of the stage to tell in what place or country the action was going on. *

10. When a regular theatre was at length established, plays were acted at first only on Sundays, but the actors soon contrived to "make four or five Sundays a week." The hour at which the play usually commenced was one o'clock in the day, when a flag was hoisted on the top of the building, where it remained till the close of the entertainment, which lasted generally about two hours. Placards also announced the play which was to be performed. The price of admission was usually trifling, but it was somewhat raised when a new piece was brought out. Instead of stage-doors, there were strips of curtain, over each of which was written the name of the character which was to make its entrance through it, and every actor was required to keep during the play to his own strip. The stage itself was strewed with rushes; a cresset, like that by which churches were lighted, was hung over it; and, if it happened by good fortune to possess a solitary piece of scenery, this remained stationary till the end of the performance. At the back of the stage was a gallery eight or ten feet high, into which those performers retired who were required, by the stage directions, to overlook the characters below.

The more fashionable part of the audience sat upon the stage, and paid sixpence for their private stools, whilst their pages stood behind, to supply them, at proper intervals, with pipes and tobacco: the common folk were crowded into the pit, where, during the intervals of the play, they amused themselves with criticising its merits, playing at cards, drinking ale, and smoking. The piece was usually prefaced by a prologue, the reciter of which was dressed in a long black velvet cloak, and introduced with a flourish of trumpets. The actors played in masks and perukes, and the parts of women were performed by young men and boys. One play only was acted in the

* An attempt was made, with some success, to revive this practice at the Haymarket Theatre a short time ago, and several plays of Shakspere were performed with a single stationary scene, painted boards being stuck up to mark the necessary alterations.

day; and as all the audience required matter suited to their tastes, the tragedy and farce were happily jumbled together in the same piece. Hissing, caterwauling, and other hideous sounds of public disapprobation, were plentifully heaped upon an unfortunate drama or performer.

11. At the commencement of this period domestic comforts were comparatively unknown, notwithstanding the pomp and glitter of external life. Henry VIII. had in his bed-chamber only a pair of cupboards, a joint stool, two andirons, a fire-fork, a pair of tongs, a fire-pan, and a steel mirror covered with yellow velvet; and the magnificent Wolsey had hardly a better material of furniture in his palace than plain deal. The great luxury of the time was a soft warm bed, which was often distinguished by lofty titles of honour, and regarded with the greatest affection. The spread of household comforts, however, throughout all classes was very great before the close of the period. In diet, too, there was a marked change for the better; and although still far behind foreign habits, the great banquet now began to exhibit a character of superior refinement. The meals of the upper classes were still taken at eight o'clock, noon, and six in the evening; but, so late as Henry VIII., an *after-noon* and an *after-supper* occurred in the intervals. Joints of beef and mutton, roast or boiled, bread, and flowing beakers of ale characterised all these repasts alike, wine being used chiefly at the after-supper. At dinner, however, a greater and more elegant variety of dishes appeared; and, instead of crowds of jesters, tumblers, and harpers, a stately and ceremonious silence was observed by the polite. The guests washed before dinner with rose-water and perfumes, and were ushered in dignified order to the table according to their several ranks. The hat seems to have been generally worn at table. After dinner the remains were sent to the waiters and servants, and their fragments again distributed amongst the poor who sat humbly at the gate. As for the royal table of Elizabeth, nothing could surpass the solemn order in which it was laid out, or the number of triple genuflexions which accompanied every movement of the noble and

gentle waiters; all this, too, was only for show; for the meat was finally taken off the table into an inner room, where the queen herself dined in the utmost privacy and simplicity.

12. Table-cloths and napkins came in with the general progress of refinement, and descended at length even to the houses of tradesmen and mechanics. Of the different kinds of bread now used, the manchet was made of the finest wheat; the chete-bread was of coarser quality, and the ravelled and brown (or maslin bread) were of still inferior class. The bread and meat were presented together on the sharp point of a carving-knife; and the fingers of the left hand, in the absence of forks, were necessarily brought into constant play. The hospitality of the table had now become a recognised matter; and the Lord Mayor of London had commenced that career of official good living which so eminently distinguishes the city, being required during his year to keep open house for natives and strangers alike.

13. Fifty-six different kinds of French wines, and thirty-six of other sorts (of which the strongest were the best liked), are said to have been now imported into England, at the rate of 30,000 tuns a year; and, besides this, the nobility were allowed to import a certain quantity free of duty. These were generally concocted with sugar, lemon, eggs, and spices; and compound wines were in great demand. Distilled liquors, especially rosa-solis and aqua-vitæ, were also largely manufactured and drunk. Ale and beer, moreover, were brewed in great variety as well as abundance; and the finer sorts, especially the March ale, which was not drunk for two years after making, were often as richly compounded and as highly valued as the best wines; nor was the art of adulterating both ale and wine altogether unknown to the tapsters, as the readers of Shakspere will remember. Cider, perry, and mum, were still drunk; but metheglin was now chiefly confined to the Welsh.

With all this abundance of good liquors drunkenness could not fail to increase, although Camden ascribes it, with a laudable spirit, to the long wars in the Netherlands, previous to which we had been, it seems, "of all the northern

nations the most commended for sobriety!" This idea is somewhat confirmed, indeed, by the barbarous terms formerly used in drinking matches, which are all of Dutch, Danish, or German origin. Many statutes were passed against this prevailing vice, especially under James I., but no doubt without much effect.

14. More intellectual amusements were, however, making their way amongst both sexes in the higher ranks; and, ladies in particular, besides a knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, were instructed in many elegant as well as useful accomplishments, such as singing, playing on the virginals, lute, or cittern, dancing, needlework, and embroidery. Both Mary and Elizabeth were industrious needlewomen; the latter presented to Edward VI., as a new year's gift, a cambric shirt of her own making; and Anna Boleyn embroidered the tester of a bed for her royal husband. The duties of the household were also not neglected, even by the daughters of the nobility; and the making and setting off of dresses were diligently studied. Mrs. Dinghem Van Plasse used to receive 4*l.* or 5*l.* for teaching ladies how to starch, and 20*s.* to seethe starch. There was still a good deal of domestic barbarism, however, and the parental authority was generally maintained by downright fear of corporal chastisement, which was administered without regard of age or sex so long as the children remained under their father's roof.

15. Weddings were scenes of great state and festivity; the bridegroom presented to all the friends and kindred who assembled to make merry, scarfs, gloves, and garters of his favourite colours, and received in return gifts of plate and other articles, whilst the whole affair was wound up with banquets, masques, and laboured epithalamiums. In lower life, a gay procession was formed round the bride on her way to church, whilst a bride-cup of silver was borne before her, filled with wine and rosemary, and hung round with brilliant ribbons. Musicians followed, with troops of maidens bearing great bride-cakes and garlands of wheat finely gilded, and all the spectators shouted joy and blessings. If, after a year and a day, the happy couple could swear that they had never

had a cross word, or once repented their union, waking or sleeping, they might demand a flitch of bacon, either from Dunmow Priory in Essex, or Whichenovre in Staffordshire; an event, however, which (such is the lamented weakness of human nature) but rarely occurred.

16. Travelling was generally performed on horseback, but for the sick or aged a horse-litter was provided about the commencement of this period. This was improved into a kind of waggon, under Mary, but as it had no springs, ladies naturally preferred the saddle or the pillion. The coach was first introduced in 1564 by William Boonen, a Dutchman, who became coachman to the queen, and great was the astonishment of the people at beholding it. "Some said it was a great crab shell brought out of China, and some imagined it to be one of the pagan temples, in which the cannibals adored the devil." Notwithstanding its uncouth appearance and heavy structure, however, this luxury soon

Queen Elizabeth's State Carriage. (From an old Print.)

came into general use, at least where the roads would permit it.

The royal progresses, or visits to different parts of the kingdom, increased greatly under the reign of Elizabeth. It has been suggested that she wished thus to exhaust the resources of her too powerful nobility, and certainly it was a most effectual method; on one occasion, for instance, Lord Buckhurst was obliged to send for provisions to Flanders, all the food, both of his own and of the neighbouring counties, having been forestalled to prepare for the queen. She sometimes let her trembling subject off, however, for a handsome present, if properly offered.

17. The progress of building in London, which was extremely great under Elizabeth, filled up many of the old tilt-yards, shooting-grounds, and race-courses around the city, and curtailed many of the old facilities for manly sports and exercises. The sedentary life thus enforced, joined with a more luxurious mode of living, soon began to produce some novel ailments, and the gout (then emphatically named *the Enemy*) showed itself pretty plainly amongst the higher classes of society. The active games of their forefathers were now, indeed, exchanged for the cockpit, the theatre, the bear-garden, the eating-houses and taverns, dicing-houses and smoking ordinaries, which sprang up rapidly in every street. To these places the buffoon and juggler, with the masters of motions (puppetshows), now forbidden the stately palace and the castle, naturally resorted, along with the poor crest-fallen minstrel, sadly sunken into a common street singer or taproom fiddler. These hapless classes, once the life of the highest circles, were now ranked with rogues and vagabonds, thieves and ruffians, or, still worse, with heretics and pagans, liable to the severest and most merciless penalties.

18. In the country, hunting, hawking, and fowling were still followed, and various devices were used to allure the game of all kinds. Hawking, indeed, both attained its height during this period, and fell gradually into disuse, partly from the great expense of keeping falcons, and partly from the novel charms of the fowling-piece. After the reign of Elizabeth the sport will require in consequence no farther mention.

Horse-racing now commenced as a regular amusement, and was favoured even by the puritans, who bitterly opposed almost every other sport. Early in the reign of Elizabeth the saddlers of Chester gave races, at which a silver bell, value 3*s.* 6*d.*, was bestowed on the winner, and this example was soon followed in other parts of the country. By this means our breed of horses, which had hitherto been remarkably poor, was greatly improved. The less innocent and praiseworthy amusements of bear and bull baiting, continued

to delight all classes; and even the queen herself rejoiced greatly in this cruel sport. Cock-fighting, and throwing at cocks, which were regularly introduced in public schools, served to increase the ferocity of the people; to which also the number of executions, the ghastly exhibition of traitors' heads over the city gates, and the brutal punishments of whipping and branding, lent no small aid.

19. Within doors dancing became a great source of enjoyment; and Sir Christopher Hatton was rewarded for his skill in graceful measures by the gift of the chancellorship. The chief court dances were corantos, galliards, and trenchmores; but the great favourite was the old chivalric pavin (*peacock*), which consisted of a series of stately movements, like those of that bird. The lavolta, also, which seems to have resembled our gallopade, or waltz, gave abundant display of the high boundings which constituted much of the merit of a dancer. Besides the games already mentioned, shove-groat and shovel-board were now much played, on a board divided into nine numbered compartments, into which a silver groat was spun, counting according to the number on which it rested; a rustic form of this game was the merelles, or nine-men's-morris, played with holes in the ground and a round stone. A more varied amusement was afforded by back-gammon, but cards still held the sway over all other pastimes; none of the games at cards would, however, be at all intelligible at the present day.

20. The great festivals of the Church were still honoured with all their peculiar usages, and presented a scene of universal sport and merriment. At the high feast of Christmas all work and care were thrown aside, carols were trolled in every street, masquerades and plays abounded in all directions, the houses were dressed up with holly and ivy, the churches resembled leafy bowers, and standards, bedecked with evergreens, were danced round in the streets. At table the boar's head was ushered in to the great banquet, upon a huge silver platter, amidst a general flourish of music, whilst the yule log blazed merrily on the hearth. In every parish and great household a Lord of Misrule, or King of the Bean,

was elected by the breaking of a cake (like our present king and queen of Twelfth Night), to preside over the wild revels of his laughing subjects. This madcap rout, with their hobby-horses, dragons, and other monsters, marched off to the churches with all manner of noise and outcry, pranced in amongst the wondering congregation, and issuing forth to the church-yard, there set up a host of booths and arbours, in which they made their Christmas cheer, to the great annoyance of the more solemn puritans, and the utter astonishment of all foreigners. The first Monday after Twelfth Day was called Plough Monday, when the ploughmen went about from house to house, begging money to drink; in the northern counties they dragged a plough about with them, and ploughed up the ground before the door of him who refused a contribution.

21. Next to Christmas in importance was May Day, the night before which was spent in the woods, amidst various sports. On their return in the morning, the people brought with them birchen boughs, and branches of trees, with the great May-pole, drawn by twenty or thirty yoke of oxen, and gaily ornamented with flowers and streamers. The dance round the May-pole was not confined to the country; and in London, in particular, a great shaft was set up in Cornhill, higher than the steeple of St. Andrew's church, which was thence called St. Andrew Undershaft. The lord and lady of May were identified with Robin Hood, the bold outlaw, and his beloved Maid Marian; and they were surrounded by the whole band, with Friar Tuck, Little John, &c., who danced and paraded beside the everlasting hobby-horse and dragon. The morris-dance was also performed by persons whose antic habits were hung with small bells, of various scales; and the milkmaids careered about with whole pyramids of cups, tankards, and salvers, on their heads.

22. Another great festival was Midsummer Eve, the vigil of St. John the Baptist, upon which the houses were ornamented with branches of birch, long fennel, St. John's rush, and orpin; and a large fire was kindled in the street, round which the young folks danced till midnight; to this fire certain

magical virtues were attributed. In ancient times the watch was set in London on this night with great splendour and a mighty pageant, but this was abolished by Henry VIII. Previous to the Reformation Palm Sunday was solemnly observed, in commemoration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem; a wooden ass was placed before the door of the church, whilst the people threw palm branches, flowers, and pieces of cloth upon the ground, which were thus believed to be made a preservative against storms and thunder. This custom was abolished in 1548.

23. On New Year's Day presents were given to friends, and the mighty wassail bowl filled with spiced ale was carried about by young women, to whom every one that drank gave a trifle in return. On Shrove Tuesday cocks were thrown at with cudgels. The Easter holidays were celebrated by games at hand-ball for tansy-cakes. The Tuesday following the second Sunday after Easter was called Hock Tuesday or binding-day, the women being accustomed to bind the men in sport, or to stretch ropes across the road which none could pass without paying hock-money; this custom is supposed to have originated in the deliverance of the English from the Danish yoke at the death of Hardicanute. Harvest-home was also observed, but not with so much ceremony as in after times.

24. On Maundy Thursday the washing of the disciples' feet by our Saviour was commemorated by the king, queen, and nobles, washing and kissing the feet of as many paupers as they were years old; after which, money and food were given to them out of a basket, whence, probably, the name maund, signifying *a basket* in the Saxon. The latter part of this ceremony is still observed by the king or queen of England at Whitehall. St. Valentine's Day is supposed to have been substituted by the Church for the pagan Lupercalia, in the course of which the names of young women used to be enclosed in a box and drawn by their future partners, in accordance with which practice, on this festival, valentines were chosen by throwing the names of an equal number of males and females into two heaps, after which a general drawing took place on both sides. When the whole

party had thus been paired by chance, the men gave balls and treats to their mistresses, wearing their billets for several days on their breast or sleeve. Another mode was to look out of the door or window early in the morning, and the person first seen, if unmarried, was considered to be the destined individual.

25. Besides these general festivals, there were the parish, Easter, and Whitsun ales, which originated in some early methods of raising money for the repair of churches. A large quantity of strong ale was set up for sale in the churchyard, and, under the influence of half-devotional, half-carnal

Grotesque Figure on the Porch of Chalk Church, Kent.*

feelings, was soon purchased and drunk up by the eager villagers. Still more ancient in their origin were the wakes

* Supposed to illustrate the humours of a church-ale, and to have been carved early in the 16th century.

or feasts on the dedication-day of a church, or birthday of the saint in whose name it was consecrated — which, in course of time, came to be turned into fairs, as in some places they still continue to be.

26. One English habit, which afterwards entirely went out, was generally observed at this period — the embracing and kissing of acquaintances, of both sexes, as an ordinary mode of salutation. A less pleasing practice was that of profane swearing, which seems now to have reached its height, and was curiously classified according to the rank and profession of the swearer. The masculine daughter of the bluff Harry was particularly distinguished by the terrible vigour and roundness of her oaths.

BOOK VI.

LATER ENGLISH PERIOD. A. D. 1603—1689.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. The decline and (for a time) the total extinction of the royal authority, so paramount during the last era, with the extraordinary rise and influence of the people, are enough of themselves to render this period particularly exciting. The power of the great Anglo-Norman barons had been broken to pieces during the civil wars, and the regal prerogative, which they had formerly kept in check, had risen to a pitch of despotism under Henry VIII., which was maintained throughout several succeeding reigns. But a new force, namely, that of the Commons, which had hardly been recognised before, was in the meantime gaining ground, partly through the increased facilities for purchasing the landed estates of the nobility, by which the class of "gentry" was gradually created, and partly through the general stir communicated to men's minds by the great changes and exciting movements of the Reformation. By degrees the smaller landowners united with the citizens and burgesses, and, when the junction was complete, the "Commons of England" stood up boldly for their rights, and at length gave battle to their sovereign, and defiance to the whole world. This event was, no doubt, much hastened, if not mainly brought on, by the personal character of the successive monarchs of England and of their principal advisers. The wavering policy of Henry VIII., constant only in its tyranny, was not more fatal to the religion and the throne of

the country than was the stern unrelaxing severity of Elizabeth, followed, so unhappily, by the absurd bluster and irritating spitefulness of her successor, and the false pride and ill directed sense of honour of his hapless son.

2. James I. carried (though not without opposition) the pretensions of royalty still farther than any of his predecessors; for he endeavoured to base his authority directly upon the Scriptures, and to prove that kings held their power immediately from God, and were accountable to him only for its exercise; and, moreover, that monarchy was the form of government, for which above all others God had himself expressed a decided preference. This bold statement of the *jus divinum* had never been made even by the most daring Tudors, although they had acted commonly enough upon its principles. It was readily adopted, however, by his son Charles, who was, no doubt, strengthened in the impression by the sight of absolute supremacy in Spain and the predilections of his French wife, Henrietta Maria; but he was unfortunate enough in taking up such a belief, and in acting upon it with all the earnestness of his nature, at a time when several influences were powerfully setting men's minds in the very opposite direction. Amongst these may be noticed the vehement and not always discreet searching of the Scriptures, which having first brought about the effectual questioning of the Romish dogmas in religion, induced also an inquiry into constituted authorities of all kinds, and a disposition to question every command of men until it could be proved to have some ground in the declared will of God. Joined with this was the now frequent study of the classic orators, from whose discourses strong contrasts of popular government and monarchy, under the names of *liberty* and *tyranny*, were constantly drawn. These speculative notions were invigorated and rendered practically formidable by the increasing wealth of the trading towns, and the spirit of independence which it naturally engendered; and, as if nothing should be wanting, the growing sturdiness of the commons was perpetually roused by the insolence of the royal retainers and the positive acts of injustice which they ventured to commit.

3. The accession of Charles I. was hailed with delight; but his very first parliament showed plainly that the English people were no longer to be ruled by mere arbitrary power; for it exhibited throughout a spirit of distrust and resistance, demanded boldly a redress of grievances, and after a sitting of only two months was suddenly dissolved by the king. The next parliament insisted, though in vain, upon an inquiry into the conduct of the royal favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, before voting the supplies, and was also dismissed. The third presented the famous Petition of Right, in which they prayed for the rights and liberties of the subject, especially in person and goods, founding their claims upon Magna Charta and the statute of Edward I., *de tallagio non concedendo*, to which Charles was at length compelled to give a reluctant assent. This great act was passed on the 7th of June, 1628.

On the re-assembling of parliament in 1629, after some violent quarrels, the king resolved, with the help of his favourites, Laud and Strafford, to do without such meetings altogether — a determination which he was not induced to retract till the year 1640. During this interval, the long series of unhappy events occurred which are recorded in every history — the tyranny of the ministers; the illegal levying of rates and taxes, and imposition of extraordinary fines *; the resumption of obsolete forest rights, and forcible imparking of private estates, for the use of the king; the revival of oppressive monopolies; the severe punishments inflicted upon all who questioned any royal claim, real or pretended; and a thousand acts of overbearing authority, which at length roused the nation to resistance, and gave a spirit to the "Long Parliament," upon which Charles and his advisers had not sufficiently calculated. Previous to calling this celebrated parliament, the king had conceived the idea of summoning the great council of peers of the realm —

* The celebrated tax of ship-money, which had been long unused in England, was hunted up by William Noy, the Attorney-general, in 1634. The twelve judges were also induced to declare that in a case of necessity the king might impose this tax, and that he was himself the sole judge of such necessity.

the old feudal *Magnum Concilium* — to meet at York, but he soon abandoned so visionary a conceit.

4. At the opening of the session of 1640 there seem to have been three distinct parties arrayed upon the popular side — first, those who disliked the present acts of government, but thought that the ancient institutions possessed a remedial power within themselves, and, above all, that royalty was still something sacred; these were such men as Clarendon, Falkland, Colpepper, and Capel. Next, were those who thought that royalty should be retained, indeed, in form, but that the political preponderance should be placed (as at the present day) in the House of Commons — such as Hampden, Hollis, Pym, &c. Last of all came the fierce republicans, Ludlow, Harrington, Vane, and Milton, with their less ardent followers, Cromwell, Ireton, Lambert, &c.; who were for an entire and perfect democracy. But these two last parties were much mixed up together, and at different stages of the conflict the same men, according to their particular constitution of mind, often expressed very different opinions. With the political struggles, also, of the day, religion was deeply intermingled, and often displayed itself in the wildest excesses of fanaticism on the one side, and the blindest devotion to the established system on the other.

5. The first great constitutional question was brought before the House by John Pym, in the well-known impeachment of the Earl of Strafford for attempting to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. It must be owned that this alleged offence came in no way under the statutes of treason, on which condemnation was sought; and so the Commons evidently felt, for they changed his impeachment into a bill of attainder, under which he perished on the 12th of May, 1641. By the same process Archbishop Laud, nearly four years after, was also brought to the block. In 1642 all measures were finally broken between the king and his parliament, and both parties entrusted their cause to the bloody decision of a civil war.

6. The next great constitutional question is the trial of King Charles — a sovereign by his subjects — which occurred

in January 1648–49. On the 1st of that month it was adjudged by the Commons, that by the fundamental laws of the land it is treason in the king of England, for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom; and on that ground a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the unfortunate Charles. It is clear that this charge of treason was utterly groundless, for all statutes against that crime were originally made to protect the king and not the subject, and therefore their whole right to proceed against their monarch must rest upon the alleged necessity of self-preservation, which, it has been contended, was then so strong as to annul all positive laws.

7. The state being now fairly placed upon the basis, that "the people are, under God, the origin of all just power," and, that "the Commons of England, in parliament assembled, being chosen by representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation" — their acts having the force of law to bind all men, without requiring the consent of either king or house of peers*, and a new Great Seal being formally ordered in their name, the republicans might (one would think) have had it all their own way, but that their arbitrary conduct†, dissensions, and uncertainties, gave room for the bold chieftain, Oliver Cromwell, to step in and end the dispute by seizing supreme power under the bashful title of Lord Protector. The legislation of Cromwell was scarcely so ad-

* A sort of make-shift House of Lords was afterwards established, it being found impossible to carry on the government with one single irresponsible chamber. The tenure was intended to be for life (like the present French Chamber of Peers), but the real nobles of the land refused, with very few exceptions, to sit in so uncertain and debased an assembly.

† Hardly was the king dead until the parliament, which had clamoured so loudly against his tyranny, revived all its worst points, without the plea of divine authority upon which Charles had so boldly taken his stand. Thus they made it treason to affirm, in speech or writing, that the Commonwealth was unlawful, usurped, or tyrannical, or to deny the supremacy of parliament — treated insignificant sayings as capital offences, converted simple sedition into high treason, and shackled the press as closely as ever.

mirable as his actions in the field; but his foreign policy was perfect, and at home he introduced some of the greatest legal reforms, such as the establishment of new trials, the abolition of feudal tenures, and, in Ireland, the formation of the Civil Bill Courts, which were revived at the beginning of the last century with very great advantage to that country.

8. At the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, all the laws of the Commonwealth were, of course, held as void, and nothing to be of force beyond the last act of parliament to which Charles I. had given his assent in proper form, previously to leaving London in 1642. The most important reforms had, indeed, been carried before that date; as, the necessity of holding parliaments after an interval of three years at farthest, the regulation of the privy council, and the abolition of the Court of Star Chamber and of High Commission, the declaration of the illegality of ship-money, the reform of the stannary courts, the limitation of the forest laws, and the discontinuance of compulsory knighthood, which (with other more questionable changes) had left but little of permanent legislation for the republican government to attempt. The consequence, however, of the late terrible outbreak of the people was, that in the reign of Charles II. the privileges of the subject were somewhat more respected, and the royal prerogative was carried higher in principle than in practice. No illegal taxation was attempted, no effort made to revive tyrannical courts; and, although both judges and jury were often more submissive to the court than justice would permit, yet the regular channels of law were well defended by the high spirited members of the bar. Towards the close of his reign, however, Charles grew more arbitrary, and his temper and the power of the crown became once more irresistible for a time.

9. The crown did certainly try to check or destroy the activity of the press, but in this it had the example not only of all former reigns, (in which nothing had been legally published without a license,) but of the Long Parliament itself, which had laid severe restrictions upon the printing of "scandalous and unlicensed papers." At one time, indeed,

it was ordered that no printing should be carried on any where but in the city of London and the two universities, and all London printers were to enter into a bond of 300*l.* not to print any thing against the government, or without the name of the author, (or, at least, of the licenser), on the title-page, in addition to their own.

The law of the Restoration merely revived the old restrictions upon unlicensed books, specifying, perhaps, a little more particularly the persons from whom each class of books was to receive its *imprimatur*. Thus, books on the common law were to be licensed by the lord chancellor, chief justices, or chief baron; on history or affairs of state, by one of the secretaries of state; on heraldry, by the earl marshal, or by Garter and one other of the kings-at-arms; and all other books, by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. Printing was likewise restricted to London, the universities, and one press at York for books of divinity, when duly licensed by the archbishop. These invidious regulations continued to the time of the Revolution.

10. An important change was now made in the case of royal proclamations setting aside the law, a practice which almost entirely ceased after the Restoration; and with this also disappeared illegal imprisonment, the use of torture, and the coercion of juries by fine or imprisonment, which last was scarcely ever attempted under Charles II. Both Lords and Commons took advantage of this new state of things to extend their power and privileges beyond their ancient limits. The Lords, in particular, succeeded in gaining the ultimate jurisdiction in causes brought before them by writs of error from the common law courts, and in appeals from the Court of Chancery, — a right which had belonged to them at a very ancient date, either as representatives of the whole parliament, or of the old *aula regia*, or as delegates of the crown, but which had lain dormant from the beginning of the 15th century till towards the end of the 16th. The Commons also established their right of being, not only the originators, but the entire framers, also, of all money bills, and of all clauses in any bills imposing pecuniary burdens upon the subject.

Grants of supply appear to have been anciently made by the two Houses, separately; nor was it till the middle of the 14th century that they began to join in such grants, nor till nearly two centuries later that these generally assumed a complete legislative form. Under Elizabeth and James I. the usual enacting words were, that the Commons made the grant with the assent of the Lords; but in the first parliament of Charles I. the Commons began to recite the grant in the preamble as if it were wholly their own, and in the enacting words to introduce the name of the Lords as in other statutes, which has continued to be the practice ever since.

11. The application of the money granted was in ancient times left entirely (with a few exceptions) to the king and his ministers. Special appropriations to particular purposes grew more common under Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and were carried with a very high hand by the parliament under James I. and Charles I. Cromwell would permit no such clauses of appropriation in his supplies; but after the Restoration a precedent was again established, and was generally followed throughout the reign of Charles II., although it was dropped under James II. After the Revolution it once more became the practice, and in the 9 & 10 Will. III. may be found the first instance of a general appropriating act for the whole session, such as is now in use.

12. The representation of the people in the Lower House, as it remained down to the Union with Scotland, was completed within this period, the right of returning members being granted by statute, in 1672, to the county and city of Durham, and in 1673, by charter, to the borough of Newark, which was the last instance of the crown exercising its ancient prerogative of creating a parliamentary borough.* The charters of nearly all the corporations were wrested from them by Charles II., in 1683, and self-legislation, for a time, en-

* In the reign of Charles II. the political designations of Whig and Tory came into common use, the first being taken from the Scotch Covenanters, who were so called from a Scotch word signifying *sour buttermilk*, and the latter from the Irish rapparees, who used the word Toree, *give me* — i. e. *your money* — in the course of their depredations.

tirely suspended; nor were they afterwards restored without considerable exactions.

13. The arbitrary disposition of James II., and its results, are too well known to require repetition. The project of that monarch undoubtedly was, to reduce all the business of the state under his own control, and to make both legislative and executive power centre in the sovereign. Possibly he might have met with more success in this scheme, but for his natural weakness and detested inclinations towards popery, which at length raised the nation bodily against his authority, and placed in his stead a sovereign who was willing to abide by the constitution under which he exercised his power.

14. The earliest entry in the journals of the Commons, relating to the printing of any parliamentary papers, is on the 30th July, 1641, when the House ordered certain resolutions to be printed; though before that time some of its proceedings were probably made public in some way or other. In 1680-1 a general order was issued for printing the votes and proceedings of the House, a custom which has never since been interrupted, save once in 1702. This was a great tribute to public opinion, which, indeed, was eagerly cultivated on all sides from the day on which the Long Parliament was opened, and which has ever since continued the best check and safeguard of the public business.

15. The contrivance of appointing trustees to preserve contingent remainders is said to have been invented by Sir Orlando Bridgman and other eminent counsel during the civil wars, so as to secure in family settlements a provision for the future children of an intended marriage, who, before, were usually left at the mercy of the tenant for life. A species of conveyance, also, called lease and release, which is now the most common of all, had by that time come into general use.

A great improvement in the criminal law, for which we are indebted to the Commonwealth, is the disuse of torture, a practice which, although wholly unwarranted by the common law, and expressly prohibited by Magna Charta, had been regularly carried on under the royal warrant down to the very year of 1640. This abolition of a long-recognised exer-

cise of the royal prerogative in direct opposition to the law of the land, is one of the most curious instances of the great change in the idea of sovereign power now effected by the independent parliament of England. With the use of the torture, also, disappeared the tyrannical questioning of juries for their verdicts, the frequent exclusion of oral testimony, and other injurious interferences of the prerogative with the ordinary course of law.*

Torture had been applied, down to the close of Elizabeth, to the investigation of all kinds of crimes; but after that time it was chiefly confined to state offences. Its favourite instrument was the dreadful rack, or break, traditionally said to have been introduced under Henry VI. by John, Duke of Exeter, constable of the Tower, whence it was called the Duke of Exeter's Daughter. A *milder* punishment was inflicted by Skevington's gyves, which compressed the victim closely together, whilst the rack distended his whole frame in the most painful manner. In 1588 the manacles were introduced, and soon became the most usual mode of torture, but their precise character is not well understood. A variety of instruments of torment are still shown in the Tower, taken, it is said, out of the Spanish Armada, but at all events admirably suited to the gloomy dungeon wherein they appear, and in which half-starvation, and the horrid cells called Little Ease and the Rats' Dungeon (the latter placed below high water mark and totally dark, so that the rats crowded in as the tide rose,) added to the sufferings of the poor victim when released for a brief space from the fell grasp of the prison-ministers. Torture was not abolished in Scotland till 1708; in France till 1789; in Russia till 1801; in Bavaria and Wurtemberg till 1806; in Hanover till 1822; nor in the Grand Duchy of Baden till 1831!

16. Several other legal changes were made under the Commonwealth, which may be briefly enumerated. The old report books and other law books were ordered to be translated into English, (which was never executed, however,) and

* A barbarous practice prevailed, however, for a long time after, namely, the selling of criminals, whose sentence had been commuted to transportation, as slaves in the American plantations.

all law proceedings were hereafter to be conducted in the same language, and the writings to be executed in the common character, and not in court hand; this order was reversed at the Restoration, and, although enforced again in 1730, has never been universally approved of. In 1653 an act was passed, appointing in every parish a registrar of births, deaths, and marriages, to be chosen by the resident householders, and allowing marriages to be contracted before justices of the peace, by a simple declaration of the parties that they took each other for man and wife, which has since been re-enacted in 1836. The Court of Chancery was at one time proposed to be abolished, and was, in fact, limited in its jurisdiction; and the court of wards and liveries (which took cognisance of the feudal exactions of the crown) was entirely put down, and all tenures *in capite* and knights' fees abolished — an alteration which was afterwards allowed to remain. The introduction of fresh trials and of special juries is also traced to this time.

With the Restoration came several new laws — such as the corporation act, passed in 1661 (by which all persons holding municipal offices were required to take the Lord's Supper according to the forms of the established church, and abjure the solemn league and covenant and the lawfulness of taking up arms under any pretence whatsoever against the king); the several acts for conformity mentioned under the head of religion; an act by which the soliciting or procuring more than twenty petitions to the king or parliament, for alterations in church or state, unless the petitions had been previously agreed to by three justices of the peace or the majority of the county grand jury, was made punishable by fine and imprisonment; and one which declared the command of the militia, and of all sea and land forces, and places of strength, to be the undoubted right of the crown.

The greatest constitutional measure under Charles II. is the celebrated Habeas Corpus Act (31 Car. II. c. 3.). The practice of taking bail for persons accused of felony was, indeed, known in England from the earliest times, and writs of habeas corpus may be traced back to the reign of Henry VI. At

that period, however, it was only used between subject and subject; but under Henry VII. it seems to have been employed even against the crown; and, in the time of Charles I., was held to be an admitted constitutional remedy. In 1679, however, it was put into a more distinct and perfect form, and the great privilege of being released upon bail until trial in all reasonable cases was finally secured to the subject. The writ *de hæretico comburendo* was abolished in 1677, and several regulations made with regard to wills, which have all been recently altered by 1 Vict. c. 26.

17. The national revenues were very much increased during this period, both by the introduction of new modes of taxation and by the greater productiveness of the old. The average annual income of James I., indeed, from all sources — crown lands, feudal prerogatives of purveyance, wardship, &c., customs' duties of tonnage and poundage, parliamentary supplies, sales of titles of nobility, patents of baronetcy, and of monopolies (which last were abolished by statute in 1623), extraordinary aids (levied for the last time in 1612), loans, benevolences, fines, and foreign monies — did not exceed 600,000*l.*, and by the year 1610 he had managed to get into debt to the amount of 300,000*l.*

The parliamentary subsidies granted to Charles I. were at all times inconsiderable, but the growth of commerce raised the customs' duties to the annual sum of 500,000*l.* Ship-money is calculated, for four years that it was levied, to have produced 200,000*l.* a year, to which were added the dispensations from the penal laws against popery, and many other forced and irregular exactions. His entire annual revenue, from 1637 to 1641 inclusive, has been estimated at not less than 895,000*l.* Government lotteries (first established in 1569) were sometimes resorted to during these reigns to raise money for particular expenses.

18. After the breaking out of the civil wars the king raised money by pawning the crown jewels, and by laying assessments on those parts of the country where his authority was still admitted, as well as by the voluntary contributions of his adherents. On the other hand, the parliament exacted large

subsidies, and received great donations from the enthusiasm of the people; and, at length, laid on a regular monthly assessment, which of itself produced a far larger revenue than had ever before been collected from all other sources put together. A new tax called the Excise, originally placed upon beer, wine, tobacco, sugar, &c., and afterwards upon bread, meat, salt, and other necessaries, was first imposed in 1643, and produced 500,000*l.* a year. Coals were also subjected to a duty, and the price of one meal a week was exacted for six years from every individual. The Post Office, first established in 1635, brought in about 10,000*l.* a year, and the old feudal prerogatives were not wholly abandoned till 1656. The sale of crown and church lands, and the sequestrations of livings and private estates, with compulsory loans, &c., swelled the parliamentary revenue to the immense sum of 4,400,000*l.* per annum. This estimate must, however, be received with caution as coming from a royalist's pen. The war certainly did not swallow up the whole, whatever may have been its amount, but when it is considered that the members voted themselves weekly wages, and frequently held valuable offices, which were all paid for out of the public revenue, our astonishment at the consumption of so large an income amidst such confused times, will hardly be so great. Cromwell's income, as Protector, is stated to have been about 1,900,000*l.*, which was, at all events, better dispensed than that of the parliament.

19. With the Restoration properly begins the modern history of the revenue. The regular income of the crown was now raised from the customs' duties, (of which the Great Statute of the 12th Car. II. is the foundation); the excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors sold within the kingdom; and hearth-money, which was levied at the rate of 2*s.* on every fire, hearth and stove in all dwelling-houses worth more than 20*s.* per annum. Besides these three great branches, which were conferred for life, there were the crown lands, worth about 100,000*l.* a year; first-fruits, and tenths of benefices, the post office, and a variety of other miscellaneous items not always of a creditable kind. Four subsidies were likewise granted by parliament (for the last time, however,) in

1663; assessments, poll and property taxes, were also laid on, and the stamp duty was first imposed in 1671. From all sources Charles II. may have derived an average income of 1,800,000*l.* a year. His expenses were, however, necessarily greater than in former periods, a regular naval and military force being now kept up at all times, and a variety of debts falling heavily upon his shoulders. The king's debt (or, as we should now call it, the national debt) amounted in 1676 to about a million and a half (if we may take the 100,000*l.* interest then paid as being at 6 per cent), the greater part of which seems to have consisted of money unjustly seized in 1672 by the shutting up of the exchequer (an act which amounted to an avowed national bankruptcy), and upon which interest was paid to the owners till the close of the reign. The expenses of the civil list were at that time estimated at about 500,000*l.* a year; but in this the judges' and ambassadors' salaries, and the expenses of managing the excise and customs were included.

20. The financial history of this reign was distinguished by the appropriation of the parliamentary supplies (mentioned in page 327), and by the abolition of the ancient practice of self-taxation amongst the clergy, which, although the houses of convocation were revived at the Restoration, was willingly given up by them in 1664. In return they were allowed to vote at the election of knights of the shire.

Under James II. the revenue increased considerably; and in 1688, it is said to have amounted to more than 2,000,000*l.*, which was carefully and economically expended by that monarch, although he had the large number of 30,000 regular troops in pay in England alone, besides a powerful navy to support.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION.

1. The contest which had raged so fiercely between the Churches of Rome and of England was now transferred with equal violence to the various sects of protestantism, which soon began to defy the authority of the latter body, and at length succeeded in overthrowing it entirely for a time. To this great revolution the course of events in Scotland, in which country puritanism had been the pervading spirit of the Reformation, very seriously contributed; and a slight sketch of Scottish Church history will, therefore, enable us the better to understand that of the sister kingdom.

The reformed cast of church government in Scotland had been moulded upon the discipline established by Calvin at Geneva, but it was not at first strictly presbyterian in its character. Even Knox addressed the English bishops as "brethren," and wished to appoint twelve superintendents with superior authority to other ministers; but, at all events, the Scottish parliament would not admit of the presbyterian constitution, and bishops continued to be appointed as before to all vacant sees. This was very much disliked, indeed, by the people and by the General Assembly of the clergy, who made frequent appeals to the various regents during the minority of James I., and afterwards to the young king himself, but without effect. The episcopal revenues, it is true, were sadly despoiled by the fraudulent encroachments of the nobles; but the order of bishops, with its adjuncts of deans and chapters, was perseveringly maintained, as well as their temporal dignity of a seat in parliament, and even the old Romish names of abbot and prior did not disappear for a long time. The General Assembly, however, with equal vigour

continued its opposition to the ecclesiastical polity of the country, and in 1580 went so far as to declare the office of bishop to be "unlawful in itself, as having neither foundament, ground, nor warrant, in the word of God," and boldly commanded all such as exercised it to leave it off forthwith, under pain of excommunication.

2. Fierce collisions with the king and his council were the result, in which the clergy generally came by the worse measure. A real blow, however, was struck at episcopacy, in 1587, by the subtraction of all the temporalities of benefices and such church lands as remained unalienated to the crown, the tithes alone being reserved for the maintenance of the pastor. It was justly argued from this that few would take the responsible office of a bishop when there were no revenues to support it, which was so far verified that the friends of presbyterianism soon found themselves in a condition to renew their attacks, and with more success. In 1592, in a very disturbed state of public affairs, James was reluctantly induced to give his assent to an act of parliament establishing, for the first time, the whole system of general assemblies, synods or provincial assemblies, presbyteries, and kirk sessions. Episcopacy was not yet, however, positively abolished, and the bishops, such as they were, still retained their seats in parliament, although their number grew less and less every day, and their places were gradually occupied by laymen, upon whom their titles and temporalities had been bestowed. The clergy now waxed more and more violent and outrageous, and claimed a total exemption from the civil courts, in what they called "matters spiritual," in as high a tone as ever did Thomas à Becket himself, adding no obscure intimation that it was the duty of the king's subjects to take so ill used a sword out of his hand at once. The king, however, was too powerful for them, and even succeeded (in 1597) in re-establishing the hated episcopacy, and its connexion with the State. In the assembly of 1602, it is still distinctly recognised as part and parcel of the national ecclesiastical system, though with as much inward ill will on the part of every body, except the king and his principal nobles, as ever.

3. At the date of James' accession to the throne of England the great body of Puritans in this country do not seem to have adopted either the presbyterian principle of church government, or even the whole of the Scotch notions of rites and ceremonies in public worship. They were not, indeed, as yet a considerable body, nor was any open profession of sectarianism tolerated by law. Only 800 ministers (much less than one-tenth of the clergy), and those confined to one-half of the kingdom, signed the famous Millenary Petition (presented to King James on his first entrance into London), and their demands were only for some minor reforms in the Church service. In the beginning of the following year (1604) a great conference was held at Hampton Court between nearly twenty bishops and other dignitaries on the one side, and four Puritan preachers (Doctors Reynolds and Sparkes from Oxford, and Knewstubbs and Chatterton from Cambridge) on the other, with the king himself as moderator.

Preaching at St. Paul's Cross. (From an old Drawing.)

The Puritans demanded that the Book of Common Prayer should be revised, and the square cap and surplice, sign of the

cross in baptism, baptism by women, churching of women, confirmation, use of the ring and certain expressions in marriage, reading of the Apocrypha, and bowing at the name of Jesus, laid aside; non-residence, pluralities, and bishops holding livings *in commendam* *, abolished, along with unnecessary excommunications, and the issuing of ecclesiastical censures by lay chancellors. They required, further, the introduction of the high Calvinistic Articles of Lambeth (prepared by Whitgift in 1594), of a new and longer catechism, a new translation of the Bible, the suppression of unlawful and seditious books, the planting of learned ministers in every parish, the establishment of clerical meetings for prophesying (reading and expounding the Scriptures) every three weeks; and, finally, that all the clergy of each diocese should meet in an episcopal synod, where, under the presidency of the bishop, such matters might be heard as could not be determined in the subordinate assemblies. This last proposition savoured a little of moderate presbyterianism, and drew from James the hasty exclamation, that "a Scottish presbytery agreed with monarchy as God might with the devil!" In fine, the poor Puritans were dismissed to the cold looks and abusive reception of their disappointed party with no better comfort than the royal aphorism, "No bishop, no king!"

A few alterations were, indeed, made soon after in the Liturgy, and the catechism was lengthened by the addition of an article on the sacraments; but this was done by a royal proclamation, in which men were admonished not to expect any farther alterations, and strict conformity in all things was absolutely commanded.

4. The chief result of this conference was, however, the new translation of the Bible (the same that we now use), for the execution of which the king's commission, directed to

* All preferments which a clergyman may have previously held become void the moment that he is consecrated bishop. By the favour of the crown, however, he may continue to hold such livings *in commendam*, *i.e.* till proper pastors be provided for them, which holding may be made either temporary or perpetual.

fifty-four of the most eminent divines of both universities, was issued in 1604. The work was not actually begun, however, till 1606, when the number of translators had been reduced, by death, to forty-seven; and it was finished and sent to press in 1611. It was founded upon the Parker's or Bishop's Bible, from which the version of the Psalms in the Book of Common Prayer is still retained.

5. But whilst James continued exceedingly bitter against the Puritans, he manifested great tenderness towards Popery (of which he professed, indeed, to abhor chiefly the political part), although he did not hinder his first parliament from confirming the severe statutes of the preceding reign. What toleration he might afterwards have shown, the terrible outbreak of the Gunpowder Plot interfered effectually to prevent; immediately after which, besides the fining, imprisonment, and execution of many individual Roman Catholics, the most oppressive laws were enacted against the whole body. No popish recusant was to appear at court, to live in London, or within ten miles of the city, or to remove, upon any occasion, more than five miles from his home without a special license signed by at least four magistrates. None were to practise in surgery, physic, or law, to act as judge, clerk, or officer, in any court or corporation, or perform the office of administrator, executor, or guardian. Every Roman Catholic neglecting to have his child baptized by a Protestant minister within a month of its birth, was to pay 100*l.*, and 20*l.* if he buried any one elsewhere than in a churchyard. If he kept Roman Catholic servants, he paid for each 10*l.* a month, and the same sum for every guest of his own religion whom he might wish to entertain. In fine, he was declared to be in all respects excommunicated — all rights of property ceased with regard to him — his house might at any time be broken open and searched, his books and furniture, "having any relation to his idolatrous worship," burnt, and his horses and arms taken away at the order of the magistrate. A new oath of allegiance was also devised, containing a formal renunciation of the temporal power of the pope, and his right of interfering in the civil affairs of England; those who re-

fused this oath might be imprisoned for life, and their personal property and rental confiscated. Those who complied were, however, still subject to the former penalties, until they had completely recanted their ancient faith and become professed members of the Church of England as by law established.

6. One fashion of the good old times of popery this protestant king was, however, not unwilling to revive, namely, the burning of heretics, for two unfortunate Arians or Socinians were consumed in the fires of Smithfield, A. D. 1612–1613. A third victim was ready for the flames, but the feeling of the people was now so averse from these horrid executions, that the lawyers questioned the legality of the proceedings, and the bishops doubted whether they were really useful to the Church. "The king accordingly," says Fuller, "preferred that heretics hereafter should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison!" Nor would our gracious monarch have confined his burning zeal within his own dominions had he been permitted to exercise it elsewhere, for he arrogantly admonished the states of Holland that the Arminian heretic, Vorstius, deserved the stake, although he kindly left it to their own "Christian wisdom" whether they should burn him or not. Fortunately for the credit of our nation, James I. was the last English monarch who signed the awful writ *De hæretico comburendo.*

7. In the first convocation of the clergy under James (A. D. 1603–4) a book of canons was adopted to serve as a substitute for the old canon law, which had been swept away by the Reformation. These canons are 141 in number, and relate chiefly to the officers and proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts — the ordinary duties of ministers, churchwardens, parish clerks, &c. — the observance of certain rites and ceremonies, and the imposition of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy upon all clergymen, with an assent to the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles. For all offences against the established form of religion excommunication is largely denounced, concluding with a comprehensive anathema against every man, whether of the clergy or laity, who might deny the authority of the synod which produced

these decrees, or his own rightful subjection to them in every respect. These canons still constitute a principal portion of our ecclesiastical law, and are held to be binding upon the clergy of the Established Church, although, as they were never confirmed by act of parliament, but only by the king's letters patent under the great seal, they have no legal force whatever in respect to the laity. This discovery was not made, however, till a long series of oppressions had taken place under pretext of their authority. The principal promoter of these violent decrees was Bishop Bancroft, who was shortly after raised to the primacy, left vacant by the death of the wiser Whitgift.

8. The new archbishop quickly began to put his favourite laws in force, and his frequent deprivations of ministers for non-conformity soon gave rise to bodies of separatists more extensive and more determined than before.* Many fled to the Low Countries, where they joined the English Presbyterian congregations, and others to the American plantations; but this last course was ere long stopped by proclamation of the king. As yet, however, the Puritans were much divided in their opinions, some being for keeping still within the pale of the Church, (through fear of incurring the guilt of schism,) whilst others, as the Brownists, urged that it was no true church, but a limb of antichrist, or at least a mere creature of the state; and that even if it were a true church, yet *they* had as much right to separate from it as *it* had from the Church of Rome. The bolder spirits gradually prevailed, and so early as 1607 we find the foundations of the system, afterwards called Independency, clearly laid down in a treatise of the Rev. M. Bradshaw, entitled "English Puritanism."†

* The Puritan writers say, that in the course of his primacy (which lasted about six years), 300 ministers were silenced or deprived; but only 45 of these appear to have been actually driven from their benefices, the rest being merely prohibited from preaching until they should conform.

† The main feature of Independency, or Congregationalism, as it is now called, is well known to be the *independence* of every particular congregation from the rule of any other, or synod of others, each being

In this work, however, the king's supremacy is still rigidly maintained, at least in civil matters, and the pope anathematised as antichrist for interfering with it; but this resulted from what the Presbyterians would have called an Erastian view of the supreme power of the civil magistrate to rule all churches within his dominions, and to punish ecclesiastical officers for the abuse of their spiritual offices. On this point the Presbyterians and Independents quarrelled very bitterly at all times.

9. The active zeal of Primate Bancroft extended itself even to the Channel Islands, where the French churches had long enjoyed, without molestation, a kind of Presbyterian constitution, and which James himself had guaranteed to protect. He was successful in Jersey; but in Guernsey a better stand seems to have been made, and the archbishop was defeated. The great object, however, of both himself and the king was the final demolition of Presbyterian discipline in Scotland, for which purpose a series of attacks upon its stronghold, the General Assembly, were planned and executed with equal dexterity and boldness. Its meetings were arbitrarily prorogued by the royal authority three times in rapid succession, and when some of its members ventured, notwithstanding, to hold a sort of conference, they were prosecuted and convicted of high treason; the sentence of death was, however, commuted into perpetual banishment. The synods were some time after prohibited from assembling, as being seditious bodies, the bishops were restored to their temporalities (more nominally than really, however), and two courts of high commission erected at St. Andrew's and Glasgow, with the metropolitans at their head, and invested with arbitrary power of the most extensive kind. The Scottish clergy protested, but in vain, and old Andrew Melvil, their sturdiest advocate, was committed to the Tower for four years, and only released on condition of his leaving the kingdom for ever. At length, in 1610, an assembly of the kirk was held at Glasgow, which,

governed by its own pastor and officers, and confined in all respects to its own members. For ordinations, however, and for missionary purposes, a union of pastors and of congregations is admitted.

being well packed by the crown, was induced to recognise the king's supremacy, and the right of bishops to ordain and induct into churches, whilst the old powers of the presbyteries and other church courts were contracted into as narrow a space as possible. These regulations were confirmed and enlarged shortly after by the Scottish parliament.

The Scottish prelates had not hitherto been ordained by bishops, but now three of their number, Spotswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, and Hamilton of Galloway, were sent up to London, and received episcopal consecration at the hands of the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath, neither York or Canterbury being allowed to meddle with the procedure, lest they should be supposed to be claiming their ancient superiority over the northern church. On their return to Scotland these three consecrated Archbishop Gledstanes, and then their other brethren, in the same manner as they had been ordained themselves, and from this source the line of bishops in the modern Scottish Episcopal Church has been derived.

10. Immediately after this event Bancroft died, and Dr. George Abbot was appointed his successor, who, being of a high Calvinistic turn, was disposed to show more lenity to the Puritans. The Scottish people, too, were quiet, and bore even the celebration of such festivals as Easter without resistance or remark. In the general assembly of 1616, an uniform order of Liturgy was ostensibly commanded to be read in all kirks, with a new book of canons and confession of faith, to which last all persons were hereafter to *swear* and set to their hand. In the following year, however, the clergy ventured again to protest, and with success, against a proposed statute giving the force of ecclesiastical law to all enactments of the king made with the advice of the archbishops and bishops; but there their courage failed them, and the most important ceremonial differences between the two churches were at length completely altered without any effectual opposition. In their practical operation, however, neither clergy nor people were found to agree, and then followed, as in England, suspensions, deprivations, fines, banishments, and

imprisonments for non-conformity, in abundance. The consequence was, that the people began to meet in secret conventicles, which, in their turn, drew down the most menacing and abusive proclamations.

11. It may be observed that at this time both Presbyterians and Episcopalians in Scotland were equally Calvinistic in doctrine, although in practice the latter may have somewhat modified that rigid system. Under James, indeed, any thing like Arminianism would at one time have met with no favour anywhere, and that monarch exerted himself very much to secure a profession of the strictest predestinarian principles at the great Protestant synod of Dort in Holland (A. D. 1618). Nevertheless the milder doctrine secretly made its way amongst the Episcopalian clergy, and even the king found the gloominess of the high Calvinists so disagreeable, that he published a book of sports for the encouragement of recreations on the Sunday, in open defiance of the Puritan principles. By degrees, too, the force of political movements drove James into the patronage of Arminian divines, and Laud and others were promoted, whilst Abbot, the Calvinistic archbishop, fell into proportionate disfavour. The discussion of such points as predestination and election was even forbidden to mere parish ministers in the injunctions of 1622. In retaliation the Puritans loudly accused the court clergy of inclinations towards popery (always a convenient cry), and in this transition-state the Church was left at the death of the royal theologian and the accession of his less fortunate son.

12. The first years of Charles I. threatened Presbyterianism with a still lower fall than before, the general assemblies being totally prohibited in Scotland, and everything in the synods and presbyteries controlled by their perpetual moderators, the bishops, so that the great body of the clergy was reduced to complete insignificance. The Scottish primate, Spotswood, was also rebuked on account of his laxity, and conformity was urgently enforced on the ministers by the express desire of the king. The two great objects, indeed, of Charles, in relation to Scotland, were the recovery of the tithes and church-lands, and the imposition of a Liturgy upon the kirk. The

first was but a trifling matter, for he got nothing back without a sufficient compensation to the holders, but the second set the whole kingdom in flames, and contributed no little to the ruin of both king and church in England also. The first proposal for the introduction of a Liturgy was made in 1630, at a convention of the clergy called for the express purpose of considering how the whole order of the Church of England might be adopted. Nothing was done, however, till 1633, when Charles went down to Edinburgh to be crowned, and when, as Clarendon thinks, the simple Prayer Book of the English Church might have been carried without opposition. The Scottish bishops, however, desired to have one of their own, and it was accordingly determined that a Liturgy and Book of Canons should be drawn up in Scotland, and revised afterwards by Laud (now Archbishop of Canterbury), and his brother prelates, Juxon and Wren.

The Book of Canons was the first finished, and was confirmed by royal letters patent in 1635, but, unfortunately, without being first presented to any assembly of the clergy, or even to the lords of the Scottish council, whilst, moreover, they enjoined a punctual compliance with a form of worship which had not as yet been published. An unlimited extent was also assigned by these canons to the royal prerogative, which was declared to be according to the exact pattern of the kings of Israel, and some severe restrictions were laid upon ecclesiastics which they were not very likely to bear, besides many novelties in doctrine peculiarly offensive to the Scottish Kirk. All these circumstances tended to swell the storm which had so long been brooding, and was at length to break forth with so much fury.

13. In 1636 the Liturgy was published, and its use enjoined by royal proclamation. An experiment was, however, first made in the churches of Edinburgh, and a memorable scene was the result. On the 23d of July, 1637, in St. Giles' Church, the dean of Edinburgh began to read the new service book before an immense crowd of people; the archbishops and bishops, the lords of session and the magistrates were all present by command; but scarcely had he begun

when the church was filled with outcries, and the Bishop of Edinburgh, in striving to allay the tumult, had a stool flung at his head by a woman named Jenny Geddes, which happily was turned aside by a bystander. The city magistrates expelled the rioters with much difficulty, and the service was proceeded with, but the poor bishop, on leaving the church, was thrown down and nearly trodden to death. Similar scenes took place at other churches, both in the morning and afternoon.

14. The severe measures adopted in consequence of these outrages only served to fan the flame which spread rapidly to all classes of the community, and "Four Tables," or representative committees of lords, gentlemen, ministers, and burgesses, were soon established in Edinburgh, with sub-committees in the country parts, which rapidly organised an extensive and powerful scheme of insurrection. The result was the general signing of the celebrated National Covenant, in which they undertook to maintain at all hazards the old form of worship and the confession of faith, as subscribed by James I. and the people at large in 1580 and 1590.* This was followed by the meeting of the general assembly at Glasgow, in November, 1638, which publicly declared for unqualified Presbyterianism, and deposed all the bishops forthwith, along with some of the more zealous Episcopalian clergy.

From this time down to the conquest of the country by Cromwell in 1651, the Kirk reigned supreme, and, itself wholly uncontrolled by the state, ruled both the governors and the people of the country with the most absolute sway. It is not surprising that amongst its first demonstrations of *freedom* should be a tyrannical censorship of the press, severe laws against Papistry, and divers most absurd and cruel enactments against "the abundance and increase of witchcraft," under which numbers of poor creatures were burnt alive or otherwise executed. Even the proceedings which do it most

* This engagement was afterwards generally taken by the English Puritans under the title of the "Solemn League and Covenant."

honour, such as its efforts for the advancement of national education, are marked with the strong lines of spiritual domination, and the most perfect control over places of public education was given to the presbyteries and other ecclesiastical courts. In those palmy days, indeed, of Presbyterianism, it is impossible to avoid tracing the close resemblance which its system of church government bore to that of its old enemy, popery, especially in their mutual intolerance of dissent, disregard of the rights of the laity, and high assumption of the divine right of ministers as independent of, or superior to, the civil power. All this was backed by the most prying and intolerable espionage and interference with the domestic privacy of all classes, compared with which auricular confession was scarcely more effective and infinitely less distressing.

15. In the mean time matters were going on no less unfavourably in England. Charles and his favourite Laud were bent upon enforcing conformity to the established religion, and the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, with their accessaries, the pillory, the brand, and the scourge, were kept in full employ.* The Puritans came in for the greater share of these severities, for after a few fines and other punishments in the early part of the reign, the Roman Catholics escaped farther persecution through the influence of the queen and their own strong professions of loyalty to the crown. This toleration unfortunately appeared to confirm the popular notion of Laud's semi-popish Arminianism, which his own love for striking forms and ceremonies did not fail

* In particular may be mentioned Alexander Leighton, who for his "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," was publicly whipped, placed in the pillory for two hours, had both ears cut off, his nostrils slit, and was branded on the cheeks with the letters S.S. (or sower of sedition), after which he was imprisoned for life. Prynne suffered the same punishment *twice* for his "Histrio-Mastix," an attack upon stage plays, which was supposed to reflect upon the queen, and Burton and Bastwick for writing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books. In consequence of these persecutions, many persons left England and settled in North America, amongst whom were some of the Dutch and French congregations, whom the Duke of Alva, to the great benefit of our country, had formerly driven into England.

to increase. The licensing of books was also conducted in a still more arbitrary manner than before, and Fox's Martyrs, Bishop Jewel's works, and other books formerly printed by authority, and much admired by churchmen, were now actually forbidden to be republished.

At length the tone of the Puritans began to rise with the progress of political events and the success of their friends in Scotland, and the Long Parliament was not more distinguished for its boldness in matters of civil than of ecclesiastical government. The primate Laud was impeached and committed to the Tower*, whither he was soon followed by ten of the bishops, and two others were debarred of their seats in the House, for protesting against the legality of the acts committed in their absence. Finally, on the 14th of February, 1642, the whole episcopal order was formally incapacitated from sitting in parliament, and the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission having been already abolished, the entire system of the Church was thus virtually severed from the State. A summary process of ejectment was also commenced against the "malignant" clergymen, under various pretexts of immorality and scandalous offences, and numbers of pious and learned divines were driven from their cures, imprisoned, or obliged to leave the country.

16. Presbyterianism had not as yet spread sufficiently in England to take at once the place of the Episcopal Church. Those who desired the total abolition of episcopacy were, at first indeed, few in number, and leaned rather to Independency than to a more regular form of dissent. For two years in consequence the country was left without any established form of worship, and the clergy read the Liturgy and continued the old ceremonies or not just as they pleased. The cathedral service was, indeed, everywhere put down, and an ordinance was issued by the parliament (in 1643) that all altars and tables of stone should be taken away, communion tables removed from the east end of the church, their rails pulled down, and all candlesticks, tapers, and basins, standing upon them, taken

* Laud was kept in prison till the 10th of January, 1645, when he was publicly executed on Tower Hill.

away ; and all crucifixes, images or pictures of God and the saints, with all superstitious inscriptions, obliterated or otherwise destroyed. In the execution of this order the sacred edifices were often sadly injured, and St. Paul's Cross, Charing Cross, and that in Cheapside, were levelled to the ground. The name, style, and dignity of archbishops and bishops, were not, however, openly expunged till 1646.

17. At length the visit of the Scotch commissioners to London determined their wavering English friends, and the settlement of a new ecclesiastical polity was entrusted to the assembly of divines, which met at Westminster on the 1st of July, 1643. In doctrine these ministers were generally agreed, being all Calvinists, but in church-government they held very different opinions indeed. A few were still attached to the old episcopacy, but these finding themselves in a hopeless minority soon retired. Of the remainder the great majority seem to have been at first inclined to such a modified episcopacy as Knox's First Book of Discipline had presented, in which bishops should appear as mere superintendents, and without any secular rank or authority. This party at last, through Scottish influence, became thoroughly Presbyterian (some even adopting the principle of the divine right of presbytery), and from it proceeded all the creeds and compendiums successively published in the name of the assembly — the Directory for Public Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the larger and shorter Catechisms — formularies which are mainly retained in the Church of Scotland to the present day. The Directory, which was intended as a substitute for the Liturgy, was established by the parliament in 1645, but the Confession of Faith was never sanctioned by any act of the English legislature.

18. A vigorous opposition was, however, made to the Presbyterians by the Independents and Erastians *, who especially distressed them by maintaining the principle of a

* So called from Erastus, a German divine of the preceding century, who maintained that the church, or the clergy as such, possessed no inherent legislative power of any kind, and that the national church, in its form and discipline, was in all respects the mere subject and creature of the civil magistrate.

general *toleration* of all sects, though the Independents had some scruples about including popery and prelacy in the list. In the parliament and the army the dissenters carried the upper hand, and although Presbyterianism was partially established by way of experiment in 1646, and fixed without qualification in 1649, many difficulties were still presented to its general extension over the kingdom, and, in fact, it never did attain a perfect and universal establishment. Some of the benefices were still retained by the old Episcopalian incumbents, a considerable number were held by Independents, and a few by some of the minor sects encouraged by Cromwell's general spirit of toleration. Even the laity seem to have occasionally been admitted to the pulpits if they only possessed an "edifying gift" of utterance. At last, in March 1653, a board of Triers was appointed, thirty-eight in number, of whom part were Presbyterians, part Independents, and a few Baptists, to which was entrusted, without any instructions or limitations whatever, the power of examining, approving, or rejecting all persons that might be appointed to any living in the Church. Cromwell, indeed, represented this measure as really a restrictive one, but it evidently sanctioned the opening of the Church to all, at least, of the sects represented in the board, which continued to sit and to exercise its functions till a short time after the Protector's death.

Cromwell, also, by his deputy Monk, enforced the principle of toleration in Scotland, much to the chagrin of the Presbyterian clergy, who were at length put down by force of arms in 1652, and never dared to assemble again till their conqueror had ceased to exist.

19. During the general stir and upheaving of all principles, civil and religious, in the 17th century, a swarm of sectaries, the "maggots of corrupted texts," naturally arose, and made dissent tenfold more discordant than before. In 1646 no less than sixteen distinct and flourishing species are enumerated by Edwards in his "Gangræna," a violent Presbyterian denunciation of such unhallowed consequences of Church-revolt.*

* These were Independents, Brownists, Millenarians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Per-

The indolence of the Presbyterian army-chaplains, who, when they had got into good livings, did not care to go out any more with their regiments, gave these innovators great opportunity, which they did not fail to improve, and the army in consequence became entirely sectarian, and soon drove the more orderly dissenters to the wall. The result of this victory was a reign of general toleration, popery and prelacy always excepted, which lasted till the Restoration, a space of nearly eleven years.

20. The principle of religious liberty was maintained by some writers on the Continent soon after the Reformation, but its first assertion in England, at least on a wide and general scale, was in a work of Leonard Busher, entitled "Religious Peace, or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience, long since presented to King James and his High Court of Parliament," which was first printed in 1614, and again in 1646. The first founder of a religious body upon this principle is said to have been Roger Williams, a clergyman of the Established Church, but who having embraced Puritan views, emigrated, in 1631, to the youthful colony of Massachussetts in New England. There, however, he found as little peace as at home, and being banished from the settlement "as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth," he retired to Rhode Island with a few followers, and commenced the plantation still known by the name of Providence. A charter was obtained for this colony in 1643, and another in 1662, from Charles II., in which the most unrestricted religious freedom was secured by the exertions of Williams, and which presented, perhaps, the very first instance of a government with which no religious sect or party was in any way connected.

At that time no people in the world presented a more remarkable display of bigotry and intolerance than the Puritan colonists of New England, who had themselves but just escaped from what they deemed an insupportable tyranny at

fectists, Socinians, Arians, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scripturists, and Sceptics. Some of these had appeared, however, in the preceding century.

home. All who did not communicate with the state church (which was a form of Independency) were deprived of civil privileges; the worship of images was made punishable with death, and any one who might be pronounced a heretic was banished without mercy. The new sect of Quakers were especially persecuted, being liable to have their ears cropped, their tongues bored through with a red hot iron, and even executed on returning after banishment, a sentence under which several persons actually suffered.

21. The founder of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers*, was George Fox, who was born at Drayton in Lancashire, in 1624. This remarkable man, who was originally a shoemaker, having fancied that he heard a voice from Heaven when he was about nineteen years of age, commenced a wandering life as a stranger in the world, with many odd habits and gestures, and professed illuminations and visions from the Holy Spirit. As his mode of proceeding did not seem very respectful to the precise Puritan ministers, he and his followers soon got into serious trouble, which they endured with singular patience and meekness. Even Cromwell did not always choose to interfere on their behalf, although their half-lunatic behaviour seems generally to have deserved compassion rather than severity. Of these enthusiasts the most extravagant was James Naylor, who aspired to divine honours as being the especial temple of Christ, and was very nearly put to death for his impiety. He escaped, however, with whipping, branding, tongue-boring, the pillory, and two years' imprisonment.

22. Amongst other sects who, equally with the Quakers, held the paramount authority of the inward voice of the Spirit, were the Millenarians or Fifth-monarchy men (who believed in the immediate coming of Christ to reign personally on the earth for 1000 years, with the saints as his ministers and local vicegerents), the Ranters, the Behmenists, the half-sceptical Seekers, and the all-credulous Muggletonians

* The name Quaker was given from Fox desiring a magistrate, who once took him up, to "quake and tremble at the word of the Lord."

(who put unbounded faith in "those two last prophets and messengers of God, John Reeve and Ludowick Muggleton"). These last, however, found out that the light of the Quakers was nothing but darkness and the very spirit of antichrist! and sentence of damnation was solemnly pronounced upon the whole of the rival body by their leaders.

These sectaries naturally united with the Independents to oppose the Restoration, which obviously threatened their overthrow, the Quakers only excepted, who had endured too much from all parties not to hope for some benefit, at least, from the change. The poor Friends were, however, unfortunately confounded with a mad outbreak of Venner and the Fifth-monarchy men, and suffered severely for a time.

23. It was plain enough that the Restoration would produce, at least in England, the re-establishment of episcopacy, (which, indeed, was the general wish of the nation,) but the Presbyterians were not disposed to part altogether with their former power, and they strained every nerve accordingly to secure the mixed system which had been proposed some years before by Archbishop Usher, in which the episcopal office and authority was to be combined with synods of the clergy for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. By this scheme it was provided that the archbishops and bishops should continue as before, but that a body of suffragan bishops should be created, equal in number to the rural deaneries — that a synod of his own clergy should be assembled by every suffragan once a month, a diocesan synod once or twice a year by the bishop, and a provincial synod, consisting of all the bishops and suffragans with delegates from the clergy of each diocese, every third year, by the archbishop; if the parliament should be sitting, the two provincial synods might join and form a national assembly, wherein all appeals from inferior meetings might be received, their acts examined, and all church matters whatsoever finally determined. This plan hardly differed from the Scottish, except that the prelates were made constant moderators in their own church courts instead of being elected on each occasion by the members, and that the power of ordination might still be left exclusively in their hands.

24. This scheme was formally proposed at a conference held in 1660, without any effect; but in a few days after the king published a "healing declaration," announcing a variety of arrangements upon the required points, which gave general satisfaction to the Presbyterians, some of whose leaders immediately accepted office in the Church. The intended measures, however, were lost in the next parliament, and, it has been said, by a manœuvre of the court. Immediately after the old incumbents were restored to their livings, and numbers of ministers who had been introduced during the time of the Commonwealth were unceremoniously dispossessed of their usurped seats.

25. Something, however, was done to satisfy the dissenters in the calling of the famous Savoy Conference, (March 25th, 1661,) at which twelve bishops and twelve of the principal Presbyterian divines, with nine assistants on each side, assembled to revise the Book of Common Prayer, and to make such alterations as might be "expedient for the giving satisfaction to tender consciences and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majesty's government and protection."* A good many objections were made at this conference to the old Service Book, and it was proposed that a new Liturgy should be drawn up, which was done by the celebrated Baxter in the short space of a fortnight. This hurried composition was at once rejected, and after much useless wrangling the meeting was broken up without anything decisive having been concluded. Shortly after, the Convocation was desired to review the Prayer Book, and after several amendments, the principal of which were, that the lessons should be read instead of sung, the substitution of a few collects, the addition of prayers for the parliament, and for "all conditions of men," and the General Thanksgiving; the taking

* Amongst the Episcopalians were Fruen, Archbishop of York, Sheldon, Bishop of London, Cosins of Durham, Morley of Worcester, Sanderson of Lincoln, Drs. Earles, Heylin, Gunning, Barwick, Pearson, Sparrow, Mr. Thorndike, &c. Amongst the Presbyterians, Bishop Reynolds of Norwich, Drs. Spurstow, Manton, and Lightfoot, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, &c.

of the epistles and gospels from the last translation instead of the Bishop's Bible; the additional office of "baptism for those of riper years," and of forms of prayer "to be used at sea," and for the 30th of January and 29th of May; a slight increase of the holidays and alteration in the lessons — the whole book was brought into the order in which it now stands, and was fully and finally established by the Act of Uniformity, passed on the 19th of May, 1662. By this famous act all ministers not already ordained by episcopal hands or disposed to be so ordained immediately, or refusing to yield unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, or declining to abjure the solemn league and covenant and the lawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatever, were peremptorily ordered to quit their benefices on the ensuing 24th of August, the noted Feast of St. Bartholomew.

26. On that fated day a few were brought to conform, but the great bulk of the ministers (amounting, say their own party, to 2000,) preached their farewell sermons on the preceding Sunday, and quietly took leave of their flocks. A great outcry was subsequently made because they were not allowed the fifths of their livings for their support, as the republican party had professed to do for the Episcopalian clergy upon *their* dispossession; but, besides that the right of possession was nothing like so great on the one side as the other, those old allowances of the parliament had been in reality of a very nominal and unsatisfactory character. Nor would the nonconformist ministers have readily consented to give up the exercise of their voices against the established order of the realm, a practice which it would have been very inconsistent in the government to sanction and support by a positive pension. The nation at large had but little sympathy with the ejected preachers, who, nevertheless, went sturdily on in spite of imprisonment and every trial, defying the Service Book and the Church which they were compelled by law to frequent, and for opposing which a little too fiercely their followers occasionally found their way to the gallows.

27. The established clergy and the government soon denounced this conduct as schismatical and rebellious, and by

the Five-mile Act it was made penal for any nonconformist minister to teach in a school, or come within five miles (except as a passing traveller) of any city, borough, corporate town, or any place in which he had preached or taught since the passing of the Act of Uniformity, unless he had previously taken the oath of non-resistance. In 1673 the Test Act was passed (only repealed in 1828,) by which all who refused to take the oaths and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, along with a formal renunciation of the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, were debarred from all public employments. Professedly this was done to check the growth of popery, but in effect it restricted the Dissenters quite as completely.

28. Towards popery the king himself was not ill inclined, but the Protestant feelings of the people were highly excited during the reign of Charles II. by the memorable popish plot and its pretended witnesses, Oates and Bedloe, an account of which may be found in all the histories. A number of violent measures were proposed by the Commons in consequence, and several Jesuits and other Roman Catholic priests and monks were executed. The much-desired result of these impartial persecutions was the strengthening and extension of "that most necessary doctrine" of passive obedience and non-resistance, as the true "badge and character of the Church of England."

29. This dogma was very much shaken, however, by the arbitrary and avowedly popish inclinations of James II., and both Oxford and Cambridge strenuously resisted his attempts to thrust in Roman Catholic members upon their foundations. The better to carry out his views, the king issued a proclamation suspending the penal laws against all nonconformists, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics. But this apparent act of toleration, besides its asserted illegality, was strongly suspected by the Protestants as only intended for a blind, and certain to be withdrawn the moment that popery was re-established in the land. The command to read the declaration of indulgence in the churches at length afforded a vent for the hostile feelings which had been accumulating so long, and not

more than 200, out of the whole 10,000 clergy in the kingdom, would comply with the royal will. The Church of England now presented its strongest and most decided character, and being warmly backed by the Protestant Dissenters, the contest was no longer doubtful. The jury acquitted the seven bishops who were tried for petitioning against the fatal measure, the people and the army applauded the verdict, and every thing prepared the way for the succeeding Revolution, which established the Protestant religion on a basis too firm to be ever again disturbed even for a moment.

30. In Scotland, as in England, presbyterianism was put down at the Restoration, and episcopacy re-established in a still fuller and more absolute supremacy than before, although Charles II. had taken the covenant whilst he was in Scotland, and had solemnly sworn to defend the Kirk. All meetings of synods and presbyteries were forbidden under pain of a charge of treason, and by insisting on the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the abjuration of the national covenant, the Presbyterians were driven from all offices in either Church or State, and not a few were sent into perpetual exile. Only one Scottish bishop of Laud's ordination was now alive, but others were soon consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, amongst whom was the famous Sharp, created archbishop of St. Andrew's. This ardent prelate, assisted by the civil power and the army, pressed the Conventicle Act severely on the people, and filled the prisons with those who declined to attend at or use the Church Service.* The Scottish spirit would not, however, brook this violence, and an insurrection broke out amongst the Whigamores (as they were called), which was at first put down with much bloodshed and horrid tortures, but only to break out again with fresh vigour. In vain were the fierce dragoons and the wild Highland soldiery quartered at large upon the country, and the hill-side meetings of the Covenanters broken up with merciless slaughter, the stern Presbyterians rose again and fought with-

* A new invention was employed by Sharp to extort confessions, called the boot, in which the leg was crushed by a wedge driven forcibly in. Thumbikins were afterwards invented for squeezing the fingers.

out ceasing for their cherished faith, though with little success beyond slaying the persecuting archbishop. Till the conclusion of this period the Church of England remained the established system of religion in Scotland, although it was upheld entirely by force.

In Ireland also episcopacy was restored, but without any similar necessity for violence, the native population being wholly indifferent as to what form was imposed by their masters, since none contributed to their emancipation. Under James, however, the Protestants in that country were very cruelly treated, and popery was almost entirely re-established for some time before the Revolution.

31. Superstition still prevailed strongly in England, notwithstanding the purer light of the reformed faith, and was even countenanced by the learned of the day, including King James I., who wrote a grave book on demonology or witchcraft. The favourite mode of divination amongst these wise scholars was the Sortes Virgilianæ, or opening at hazard a copy of the Æneid and reading the passage which first struck the eye.* Fortune-telling and astrology was a common trade, and omens of all kinds were religiously observed, the appearance of a comet in 1618 having frightened even the court into a temporary sobriety. Exorcism of devils had long been practised with great success by the Romish clergy; but at length the Puritans, jealous of their fame, took up the adjuration book and drove out many a vulgar spirit like Purr and Flibbertigibbet. The imaginary sin of witchcraft was awfully punished, no less than 3000 persons having been executed, as it is said, between 1640 and 1660, besides all that had already perished under James.

* Charles I., when at Oxford, is said to have thus lit upon those remarkable verses in the Æneid (book iv. vv. 615—620.), which so strikingly describe his own untimely fate, —

"At, bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna suorum
Funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquæ
Tradiderit, regno aut optatâ luce fruatur;
Sed cadat ante diem, mediaque inhumatus arenâ."

CHAPTER III.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

1. The commencement of this period, taken in connexion with the conclusion of the last, forms undoubtedly the most brilliant era in our national literature, the very prime of that splendid world of thought which English intellect has so proudly opened to us, and from whose overflowing wells so many later minds have drunk their highest and purest inspiration. We shall first consider the dramatic literature of the age, from its rude beginnings up to the perfection to which it was raised by Shakspere and his successors.

Long before the old Moral, or even the Miracle Plays had ceased to be performed, a new style of dramatic performances, with characters drawn from real life, had arisen, of which the earliest specimens are, perhaps, the Interludes of John Heywood, some of which must have been written before 1521. The first true English comedy, however, is Ralph Roister Doister, written by Nicholas Udall, a master at Eton, in imitation of Plautus and Terence; its date is not exactly known, but it was printed at least in 1551. This play is divided into regular acts and scenes, and the characters are drawn with much force and humour. The next is Gammer Gurton's Needle, of which the oldest edition is dated 1575. This was written, as it is supposed, by John Still, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, and was played before the University of Cambridge, but is remarkable for little besides coarse merriment and grossness of expression. Perhaps a little earlier than this piece is the Misogonus, although the only extant copy (which is in MS.) is dated 1577. All these productions are composed in rhyme.

2. Tragedy may be said to have made its appearance at the same early date in the shape of Chronicle Histories, in

which certain passages of history were thrown by the annalists into a dramatic form, without much regard to chronology. Of this an example is presented in Bale's drama of Kynge Johan, written in all probability some years before the middle of the 16th century. In this piece the characters of real life, such as King John, Cardinal Pandulph, &c., are strangely jumbled up with the allegorical figures of the old Morals, such as Widowed Britannia, Imperial Majesty, Order, Sedition, &c. Several other productions of the same mixed sort appear in the latter half of the same century, as Tom Tiler and his Wife (supposed to have been first printed about 1578), the Conflict of Conscience, 1581, &c., &c.

Before these nondescript pieces had expired, however, the era of genuine historical tragedies had commenced, and on the 18th of January, 1562, was presented "before the queen's most excellent majesty, in her highness's court of Whitehall, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple," the tragedy of Gorboduc (otherwise named of Ferrex and Porrex), written by Thomas Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, and by Thomas Norton, said to have been a Puritan clergyman, and one of the assistants of Sternhold and Hopkins in their metrical version of the Psalms. This is but a dull piece, without the true spirit of dialogue and of dramatic action, but the language is singularly correct, and often poetical; and it may be remarked that blank verse is here used for the first time in dramatic composition. It retains one of the old contrivances in the Dumb Show, which precedes every act, and represents by a sort of allegorical exhibition the part of the story which is to follow; this practice was long continued on the stage, as Shakspere has shown by prefixing it to the play in Hamlet. Another custom, which Shakspere has also twice made use of, is kept up in Gorboduc, namely, a chorus consisting of "four ancient and sage men of Britain," who moralise upon the proceedings in each act, something after the fashion of the ancient Greek drama.

3. From 1562 to 1570 the Morals contested the field with some few attempts in tragedy, comedy, and dramatic history; but from that time they gradually gave way to their more

intelligible rivals, although they are still mentioned in the licence for playing granted in 1603 to Burbage, Shakspere, and their associates. The regular plays, however, for twenty years after the appearance of "Gorboduc," have for the most part been only preserved in their names, and it is difficult to determine precisely to what class they belonged. The greatest playwright of that day seems to have been Richard Edwards, who introduced stories from profane history upon the stage. Some plays were also translated or adapted from the ancient and from foreign languages, as the "Andrian" of Terence, the tragedies of Seneca, and one piece of Ariosto. It is remarkable that in the second editions of these works (so rapid was the change now going on in the English tongue) long glossaries of words newly introduced, or which but a few years before had been in common use, were often absolutely necessary for their perfect comprehension.

4 A higher class of dramatic writers arose, however, after 1580, of whom one of the first was George Peele, whose earliest work was printed in 1584. His most famous piece is the "Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe;" but his greatest merit is a certain elegance of fancy and smoothness of versification. Contemporary with him was the coarse and farcical Robert Greene, one of the earliest specimens of the Grub Street school. Christopher Marlow, who flourished at the same time, is admitted to have been the greatest playwriter before Shakspere, and his "Tragical History of Doctor Faustus," "Edward II.," and "Rich Jew of Malta," are peculiarly fine specimens of the poetry of the stage. He died unfortunately at an early age in 1593. Amongst other names of this time may be mentioned John Lyly, the Euphuist, Thomas Kyd, and Thomas Lodge, one of whose pieces is supposed to have given the original idea of "As You Like It." Almost all these early writers were classical scholars and men who had received an university education, from which circumstance the English drama received at the outset a certain learned air and classical form of diction.

5. But we must now turn to the great head and leader of all, the real creator of the modern stage, the immortal Shak-

SPERE, whose brilliant light has long since thrown most of the compositions of his predecessors into the deepest shade. As elaborate criticism, however, is not our business here, and would be indeed entirely superfluous, we shall simply date the principal works of the great master, according to the best information or conjectures which we possess.

William Shakspere was born in 1564, and after passing a boyhood and youth with which all are familiar, is found to be enumerated amongst the proprietors of the Blackfriars Theatre in 1589. In 1592 it would seem, from some satirical expressions of Robert Greene, that he had acquired considerable reputation as a dramatist and as a writer in blank verse, and in 1598 he is spoken of by a critic of the day as indisputably the greatest of English dramatists both in tragedy and comedy. "Titus Andronicus" (if that play be really Shakspere's) was first published in 1594. "Richard II.," "Richard III.," and "Romeo and Juliet," in 1597. "Love's Labour Lost," and the "First Part of Henry IV.," in 1598. "Second Part of Henry IV.," "Henry V.," "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Much Ado about Nothing," and the "Merchant of Venice," in 1600. "Second and Third Parts of Henry VI." (if they are by Shakspere, for the "First Part" apparently is not) in the same year. The "Merry Wives of Windsor" in 1602. "Hamlet," in 1603. "Lear," in 1608. "Troilus and Cressida" and "Pericles of Tyre," in 1609. "Othello," not till 1622, (six years after the author's death,) and the remainder of the plays not till the first folio edition in 1623. Shakspere himself, indeed, took no great care of the publication of his works, which came forth at first in very imperfect shapes, until his friends Heminge and Condell collected, revised, and brought them out in the edition just named. They were reprinted in 1632, and again in 1664 and 1682, after which editions of all kinds are sufficiently numerous. The great poet died in 1616, and was buried in his native town of Stratford-on-Avon.

6. Contemporary with Shakspere were George Chapman, who wrote some twenty plays, besides the most spirited translation that we yet possess of the Iliad and Odyssey; Webster,

whose "White Devil" and "Duchess of Malfy" are much celebrated; Middleton, whose comic power was considerable; Decker, a writer of very lively fancy; Marston; Tailor; Tourneur; Rowley; and Thomas Heywood, the most rapid and voluminous of English authors. Many plays of this time were, however, written by a junto of poets, each taking some one part to himself.

Far superior to all those who have been named, and worthy to be rated next to Shakspere, stand forth the illustrious pair, Beaumont and Fletcher, whose poetical partnership was so perfectly managed, that it is impossible to distinguish the several parts in their mutual productions which belong to each author. Beaumont died in 1616, Fletcher in 1625, after having written, either separately or in conjunction, fifty-three plays between the two. Their drama is distinguished by its exquisite poetry and fertility of plot and incident, and was for a time a much greater favourite on the stage than that of Shakspere; but it is far inferior in the development and preservation, as well as in originality and variety of character, and is disgraced by a grossness of thought and expression which renders it in its original state wholly unfit for modern representation.

A new style was attempted by the "rare" Ben Jonson, who sought to revive the classic Roman drama, and wrote his plays upon the models of Terence, Plautus, and Seneca. He died in 1637, after having written above fifty pieces of various kinds. Massinger also had a learned turn, but is particularly excellent in his villains, of whom Sir Giles Overreach, in the "New Way to Pay Old Debts," and Luke in the "City Madam," are fine specimens. A writer of deep pathos is found in John Ford, whose versification is also of frequent and extreme beauty. The last name of this great age is that of Shirley, whose first play was published in 1629. He is the author of about forty pieces, lively, clear, and pure in language.

7. Previous to the civil wars, there appear to have been no less than five different companies of public players in London: — 1st, the "King's Company" (to which Shak-

spere belonged), which acted at the Globe Theatre on the Bankside, Southwark, in summer, and at the Blackfriars Theatre in Winter. 2. The Queen's Players, who occupied the Cockpit (or Phœnix) in Drury Lane, the origin of the present theatre. 3. The Prince's Players at the Fortune Theatre, in Golden Lane, Cripplegate. 4. The Salisbury Court Company. 5. The Children of the Revels, who are supposed to have performed at the Red Bull, at the upper end of St. John's Street. When the plague happened to rage in town the theatres were shut up, and the players went down to the provinces; but their absence seems to have been generally borne with great impatience. With the gloomy spirit of puritanism dramatic entertainments did not well accord, and by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, in 1642, "public stage plays" were ordered henceforth "to cease and be forborne."* This order was, however, frequently infringed, and severer measures were consequently adopted, the theatres being stripped of their fittings, the poor players treated as rogues and vagabonds, and condemned upon the first offence to public whipping, and on the second, to all the penalties of incorrigible roguery; and all persons found present at a performance fined in 5*s.* for the use of the poor. In the provinces and country houses of the nobility, however, a few actors still ventured to perform, and Sir William Davenant gave entertainments of declamation and music, which he called Operas, without molestation, even in London. A great comic genius, too, Robert Cox, under the pretence of rope-dancing, contrived to fill the Red Bull with vast audiences, whom he entertained with the richest scenes of Shakspere, Marston, Shirley, &c., compressed into one piece, and called Humours or Drolleries. One good result of this dreary interval was, however, the

* This hatred to theatrical representations, which the parliament professed to be founded upon purely religious feelings, is attributed by a poet of the time, Alexander Brome, to political and even personal motives: —

——— "'Tis worth our note,
Bishops and players both suffer'd in one vote:
And reason good, for they had cause to fear them,
One did suppress their schisms, and t'other *jeer them!*"

publication of many MS. plays, which had hitherto been jealously hoarded by the respective companies, but which they were now obliged to print for their bread.

8. With the Restoration the theatres opened once more, but with an entirely new turn and taste, and even a new language. Wit and liveliness of dialogue, with highly artificial plots, and a general broadness and grossness of style, were now chiefly cultivated, and it must be owned with great success. The plays of this period sparkle, indeed, with the most brilliant points throughout, but they are hardly fit even for private perusal, and, with a few exceptions, are now never brought upon the stage. Amongst the most eminent dramatic writers of the day were Dryden, whose touching tragedies are still occasionally performed, Davenant, Otway, Lee, Crowne, Etheridge, Wycherley, and Southerne. These were followed by Farquhar, Vanbrugh, Congreve, Mrs. Behn, and Mrs. Centlivre, who for the most part rival them in both their best and worst qualities. Cowley, Waller, Buckingham, and Sedley, also wrote or altered several pieces for the stage.

9. Of poets not dramatic above 230 have been made out as flourishing in the lifetime of Shakspere; and if the catalogue were extended to the Restoration perhaps the number would not be far short of 400; but of these only a few deserve any particular notice. The first who appear are Samuel Daniel and William Warner, the latter remarkable for his Albion's England, which was first published in a complete form in 1606. It is a legendary history of England written in the old fourteen-syllable verse, without much poetic feeling, although by his contemporaries the author was placed upon a level even with Edmund Spenser. Then comes Michael Drayton, a most voluminous writer, but whose fame rests chiefly on his Polyolbion, a minute topographical description of England, contained in some 30,000 Alexandrine lines, which presented itself in 1612 and 1622, and is remarkable both for its poetic merits and for its varied learning. After these follow Giles and Phineas Fletcher, cousins of the dramatist, and both clergymen. Phineas, in particular, published, in 1633, a most singular allegory called the Purple Island, in which the *human*

body was mysteriously figured forth, and a detailed system of anatomy and psychology wrapped up in a series of poetic riddles. These last two writers were great favourites with Milton, as was also Joshua Sylvester, who was chiefly eminent, however, as a translator from the French. Another great translator was Edward Fairfax, who published Tasso's Jerusalem Recovered, done into English verse, in 1600. Sir Richard Fanshawe also produced versions of Camoen's Lusiad, Guarini's Pastor Fido, Mendoza's Querer por Solo Querer, and some translations from the Latin.

A curious philosophical poem of this time is Sir John Davies' "Nosce Teipsum," which is written with singular skill in the heroic ten-syllable measure, disposed in quatrains, a most difficult kind of verse, which even Dryden gave up after a few trials. He wrote also the best acrostics which have ever been penned, upon the name of Queen Elizabeth. A far finer composition, however, is the "Cooper's Hill" of Sir John Denham, published in 1643, and one of the noblest pieces of its kind in the world.

10. The metaphysical school of poetry was founded in this age by Dr. Donne, dean of St. Paul's, whose lyrics, satires, epistles, and other poems, are crowded with the most extraordinary conceits, and look at first like so many ingenious enigmas. Yet they are not without a considerable vein of wit and delicate fancy, and the truest tenderness and depth of feeling. His great follower was Cowley, who, with a less fantastical manner, had much less passion and earnestness; Milton, however, declared that the three greatest English poets were Spenser, Shakspere, and Cowley, and the last was certainly extremely popular for a length of time. Among the minor poets may be mentioned Crashaw and Herrick, some of whose verses are very beautiful, and the better known George Herbert, the most poetical of our religious lyrics. Of a different class, but equally excellent in their way, are the three exquisite writers of light songs and short pieces, Carew, Suckling, and Lovelace. These gentlemen were Cavaliers; but the Puritan side had its counterbalance in Andrew Marvell and George Wither, whose early poetical flights are as sweet as their later political

prose is vigorous and stinging. An elegant Scottish bard of the time of James I. is Drummond of Hawthornden, who was, moreover, the first of his countrymen who aspired to write in English rather than Lowland Scotch.

11. Theology engrossed a large portion of the prose literature of the day, and the interest which all men felt in religious controversies drew forth even the monarch on the throne, both James I. and Charles I. having left us a considerable collection of their performances, not always, however, of a very first-rate character. One of the most eminent preachers under Elizabeth and James was Dr. Andrews, bishop of Winchester, whose sermons are remarkable for learning and ability, though often spoiled by an affected quibbling and playing with words, which his example contributed but too largely to spread. Donne, the poet, has also left a folio volume of sermons deeply imbued with his quaint and subtle mode of thought; but a happier style is that of the celebrated Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, whose poetic temperament, forcible and picturesque language, and unaffected manner, have preserved him with justice in the favour of the public to the present day. Hales and Chillingworth are chiefly remarkable as controversialists, especially the latter, whose polemical treatises have never been excelled for closeness and keenness of reasoning. The greatest name, however, amongst the English divines of the whole century is that of Jeremy Taylor (born 1613, died bishop of Down and Connor 1667,) whose very prose is swelled almost into poetry by the excessive richness of his imagination and the splendour and melody of his diction. His "Sermons," his "Golden Grove," "Holy Living and Holy Dying," and "Contemplations on the State of Man," are, indeed, scarcely to be paralleled by any other English writer. The "Discourse on the Liberty of Prophesying" may also be mentioned as one of the noblest pleas for freedom of conscience in the world.

12. Amongst the theological writers may be placed Fuller, the droll and eccentric author of the "Church History of Britain," and of the "Worthies of England;" and Milton, who wrote several controversial treatises, especially against prelacy. In these as in his other prose works (some of which

were written in Latin) the laboured classical style of the great poet often loses in ease and grace what it gains in loftiness and splendour, and forms, upon the whole, by no means a good general model. The diction of the authorised translation of the Bible does not belong exclusively to this period, for it was studiously framed upon the basis of the Bishop's Bible, which itself was founded upon that of Cranmer, written under Henry VIII. With all its abundant beauties, therefore, it is not perhaps a fair specimen of the language of the reign in which it was actually produced.

13. In secular literature the greatest master was undoubtedly the illustrious Bacon.* To this noble intellect we owe a considerable stimulus to the prosecution of natural philosophy, and the most profound and original views of moral and political science. In no other philosophical writer do we find such extraordinary depth of thought and splendour of eloquence so wonderfully united, and although his services to physical science may have been overrated, yet none can estimate too highly his unrivalled investigation of the powers and operations of the human mind. Another writer of a very peculiar stamp is Sir Thomas Browne, the author of those singular works, "The Religio Medici," "Inquiries into Vulgar Errors," "Urn Burial," and "The Garden of Cyrus, or Quincuncial Lozenge of the Ancients, Artificially, Naturally, and Mystically considered," which appeared between 1642 and 1658. These treatises are full of uncommon thoughts and striking passages, and are remarkable for their studious and quiet character at a time when the whole kingdom was convulsed, and literary men of all parties deeply engaged in the sternest conflict.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy," that curious web of interwoven quotations, was first published in 1621. Robert Burton, the author (who was educated at Sutton Coldfield School) died in 1640. Harrington's original political romance "Oceana" appeared in 1656.

* Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, was born in 1561, and died in 1626. His "Essays" were first published in 1597, "Advancement of Learning" in 1605, "Wisdom of the Ancients" in 1610, "Novum Organum" in 1620, and the "De Augmentis Scientiarum" in 1623.

14. In this period, too, came forth the great work of the accomplished Raleigh, "The History of the World," composed during his imprisonment in the Tower. It possesses much literary merit, and is written in a more modern style than almost any of its contemporaries. A more valuable book as a record of facts, however, is "Knolles' History of the Turks," published in 1610. Precisely the opposite quality is displayed in "Daniel's History of England;" but the most masterly historical piece of the time is "Bacon's Reign of Henry VII.," next to which may be placed "Thomas May's History of the Long Parliament," and "Breviary of the History of the Parliament." The old popular histories were continued by the publication of Hall's, Grafton's, Holinshed's, and Baker's Chronicles, which last was a great favourite for a considerable time. Of far greater value, however, were the antiquarian researches of Stow and Speed, published between 1565 and 1614, which form the very basis of our knowledge of national antiquities.

15. English newspapers date from the first year of the

Heading of an early Newspaper.

Long Parliament, the oldest that has been discovered being a quarto pamphlet of a few leaves, entitled "The Diurnal

Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of Both Houses, in this great and happy parliament, from the 3d of November, 1640, to the 3d of November, 1641. London: printed for William Cooke, and are to be sold at his shop at Furnival's Inn Gate, in Holborn, 1641."* More than 100 papers with different titles appear to have been published from this time to the death of the king, and upwards of 80 from that date to the Restoration. These were at first published weekly, but as the interest increased, twice or thrice a week; and even it would seem, daily, at least for a time. Such were the *French Intelligencer*, the *Dutch Spy*, the *Scots Dove*, &c.; but Mercuries of all sorts were the favourite title. Thus they had the *Mercurius Acheronticus*, *Mercurius Democritus*, *Aulicus*, *Britannicus*, *Laughing Mercury*, and *Mercurius Mastix*, which last faithfully lashed all the rest. The great newspaper editors of the day were Marchmont Needham on the Presbyterian and Sir John Birkenhead on the Royalist side. These were followed by Sir Roger L'Estrange, who has also been ranked amongst the patriarchs of the newspaper press. Pamphlets were also issued in prodigious numbers during those troubled times, the average being calculated at four or five new ones every day.

16. Hardly any great work in the line of ancient scholarship appeared before the Restoration, except a noble edition of St. Chrysostom, in eight vols. folio, by Sir Henry Savile, printed at Eton in 1612. Greek and Latin were both largely read, however, though not very critically, and a number of books were written in Latin by Englishmen, which still retain their celebrity; such as Camden's "Britannia" and "Annales Rerum Anglicarum regnante Elizabethâ," "Lord Herbert's Treatise de Veritate," Milton's "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," and "Defensio Secunda," and

* Occasional gazettes had, however, been published at the time of the Spanish Armada, which, besides the news of the day, contain advertisements of books, &c. The original invention of newspapers, "that folio of four pages, happy thought!" has been variously claimed by the Italians, French, and English. No doubt the same necessities in all those countries gave unassisted birth to the same expedient.

Archbishop Usher's "De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum," and "Annales Utriusque Testamenti."

17. From the appearance of his minor poems in 1645 Milton had published no poetry (except one trifling sonnet) till he gave the world his immortal "Paradise Lost" in ten books, in 1667. In 1671 appeared his "Paradise Regained," and "Samson Agonistes;" in 1673 some new sonnets and other pieces, and in 1674 the second edition of his "Paradise Lost," now divided into twelve books; the same year completing both his great work and his life. The productions of this noble intellect, although principally published after the Restoration, belong in everything else to the preceding age, and possess a good deal of the Italian character, on which the elder poetry is so closely framed. From classical literature and the pure fount of the Hebrew Scriptures he also drank largely, and colouring all with his own fervid and lofty spirit, presented the world of English literature with the most perfect poem that it has ever seen; perfect even to its minutest point, for its blank verse is the happiest specimen of that metre beyond the region of the drama.

18. A singular contrast to the deep and solemn temperament of Milton is displayed in the grotesque satirical verses and doggrel rhymes of Samuel Butler, the celebrated author of "Hudibras," a poem which was first published in 1663. Waller, who lived through nearly the whole of the 17th century, exhibits very strongly the growing influence of French literature upon the English school, his pieces being distinguished by an extreme neatness and point, but without much depth of passion or earnestness of feeling. Sedley, Buckingham and Rochester carried this style still farther, and unfortunately increased all its grossness and indelicacy. To these writers may be added the Earl of Roscommon, the lively Earl of Dorset, the Marquis of Halifax, Lord Godolphin, Sir William Davenant, Bishop Spratt, and Charles Cotton, the well known companion of pleasant old Izaak Walton.

19. But of all the poets who lived quite through this century the greatest by far is John Dryden. His first verses were published in 1649, and in the most extravagant style of

Donne and Cowley; but he soon abandoned this unnatural method, and attained a character of vigorous conception and full and easy flow of versification, which has placed him amongst the ranks of our best authors. His latest and most excellent works, "Alexander's Feast" and the "Fables," were published in 1700, only a few months before the author's death. The school which Dryden carried to its greatest perfection differed materially from that of Milton and the older giants of poesy, being modelled chiefly on the Roman classics and the modern French literature, although not without much of the genuine English strain.

20. In prose Dryden excelled as highly as in verse. Another great prose-writer of the time is Lord Chancellor Clarendon, although his "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars" was not published till 1702, nor his Life and Continuation of the History till 1759. His style is remarkable for its singular clearness and copiousness, even whilst labouring under all the defects of the most negligent grammar. The first English writer, indeed, whose language is uniformly careful and correct, was Hobbes of Malmsbury, one of our most distinguished names in metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy, as well as in literature. This great author, born in 1588, published for the first time, in 1628, a translation of Thucydides; but his first original work was a Latin treatise, "De Cive," in 1642. The English writings upon which his fame is founded, however, are his philosophical essay, entitled "Leviathan," in 1651, and his "Behemoth, or History of the Causes of the Civil Wars," in 1679. For perspicuity and precision, force and terseness, Hobbes' writings are the very model of such compositions, and none can deny his mind the praise of great originality and acuteness. Unfortunately his literary excellence is counterbalanced by a scoffing and sceptical turn, which goes, in fact, to deny the existence of any essential distinction between right and wrong, of conscience or the moral sense, or, indeed, of anything beyond mere sensation in either emotion or intelligence.

21. The unbelieving philosopher was met, however, with equal power by the pious Cudworth, whose "True Intel-

lectual System of the Universe" (published in 1678) displays not only a vast extent of learning and subtlety of speculation, but also a singularly vigorous and well formed style. With this writer may be mentioned his friend, Henry More, who fell into the opposite extreme of imaginative Platonism, and exhibited a strange union of the most obscure notions with the clearest mode of expression, and of the greatest credulity with the highest powers of reasoning. Two other great theological writers of the time were Richard Baxter, the Puritan minister, and Robert Leighton, archbishop of Glasgow. The first would no doubt have written better had he written less, but it is certainly difficult to produce nearly 200 works, of which three are large folios, without falling into many imperfections, and a very loose way of writing; the second has always been deservedly admired for his graceful piety. A still greater divine was Dr. Isaac Barrow, who, besides being one of the best mathematicians next to Newton, has left us a series of sermons of the very highest cast of thought.

One of the most copious writers of the age was Bishop Stillingfleet, whose "Irenicum" appeared in 1659, and who for five and twenty years afterwards engaged the public eye with a rapid succession of publications, of which his "Origines Britannicæ," a work on the history of the English Church, is perhaps the most valuable. Bishop Bull is also celebrated for his "Harmonia Apostolica," directed against Calvinism, his "Defensio Fidei Nicænæ," and "Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ," all learned and laborious works. But perhaps the most active prose-writer of all was the well known Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. The longest of his numerous compositions are the "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton," "History of the Reformation of the Church of England," and the "History of his own Times." The great excellence of this author is his faculty of collecting and arranging intelligence, and of telling his story in a lively way; but to the higher merits of composition he can lay no claim. His exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles is indeed still a theological text book, though, it must be owned, simply for want of a better. Archbishop Tillotson is familiarly known by his

sermons, once very popular, but far inferior, as regards literary merit, to those of Dr. South, which, although sparkling perpetually with wit and puns, yet display a masculine spirit and a clear and vigorous style. The writings of John Locke belong properly to a later period, his "Essay on the Human Understanding" and other English works having all appeared after 1690.

Nor should honest John Bunyan and that wonderful allegory, the "Pilgrim's Progress," pass without the praise which is due to the delight of our childhood and the instruction of our riper years. But the list of English prose-writers now grows inconveniently large, and with gossiping Pepys, gentle Izaak Walton, pleasant John Evelyn, and the lively essayist, Sir William Temple, we must here be allowed to close our account.

22. The history of science in England during this period is illuminated at its very outset by the great Napierian discovery of logarithms. Baron Napier of Merchiston published his *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* at Edinburgh in 1614; but the improved shape in which we now possess them, and in framing which he was much assisted by his friend, Henry Briggs, first appeared in 1618. The uses of this wonderful invention in the pursuit of mathematical and physical science are innumerable, and it has, moreover, the rare merit of being presented in such original perfection as never afterwards to have received any material improvement. Algebra was considerably advanced at this time by Thomas Harriot, who also appears to have discovered the solar spots and the satellites of Jupiter simultaneously with Galileo. Henry Briggs made the first step towards the discovery of the Binomial Theorem in algebra, which was finally traced out by Newton.

The great early astronomer of the age was Samuel Horrocks, who died in 1641, at the immature age of 22. He was the first who saw the planet Venus on the body of the Sun, and anticipated even Newton in the theory of the lunar motions. Crabtree, Gascoigne (who introduced two convex glasses and the wire micrometer into the telescope, and applied that in-

strument to the quadrant), Milbourn, Shackerley, Gunter (the inventor of the well-known Gunter's scale, of the sector and the surveyor's chain, author of the terms *cosine, cotangent*, &c., and first observer of the fact that the variation of the compass itself again varies), Greaves (author of the first good account of the Pyramids of Egypt), and Gellibrand, were also distinguished for their astronomical genius, and some of them lent their powerful aid to the advancement of science as professors in the very valuable foundation of Gresham College.

23. In the physical sciences the grandest event is the discovery of the circulation of the blood by Dr. William Harvey. This most important fact had indeed been distantly observed by Aristotle and Galen, and more closely noticed after the revival of anatomy by Mondino, Berenger, Michael Servetus, and others; but the merit of the discovery (in any proper sense of the word) is undoubtedly due to Harvey, who was led to it by tracing (under the direction of his great Italian master, Fabricius ab Aquapendente,) the existence of valves in the veins, which prevented the flow of blood *from* the heart but permitted it *to* that organ. The full announcement of this magnificent idea was made in 1619, in his *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus.* At first it was received with almost universal disbelief, ridicule, and opposition, but in time it worked its way and effected a complete revolution in medical science.* Other eminent names in this department of knowledge are Drs. Highmore, Glisson, Jolyffe, Wharton, Willis, and Lower, who are celebrated as the first accurate anatomists of the brain and nerves.

24. The general state of physical science was still, however, sufficiently miserable till after the middle of the 17th century, and the most obvious discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, Torricelli, Des Cartes, and our own countrymen, were still occasionally treated as gross absurdities, and that by men of acknowledged station and presumed attainments. Better notions, however, began to prevail through the influence of

* The old notion was, that the veins were a sort of canals filled with stagnant blood, and the arteries merely air-tubes.

the Royal Society, the origin of which may be traced to one Theodore Haak, a German gentleman, who, about the year 1645, induced a number of persons interested in the new philosophy to meet once or twice a week in different places in London. These early associates were Dr. Wallis, the mathematician, Goddard, a physician and astronomer, Wilkins (afterwards bishop of Chester), Ent, Glisson, and Merret, with Haak, Samuel Foster, professor of astronomy in Gresham College, and probably the Honourable Robert Boyle, with several others whose names have not been handed down. Some of them afterwards went to Oxford, and there established a similar institution, which was joined by Dr. Seth Ward, Bathurst, Willis, Petty, and others. During the Rebellion this meeting of philosophers was somewhat disturbed; but after the Restoration they came out in still greater force, and (apparently through the interest of a member, Sir Robert Moray, who was a sort of private secretary to Charles II.) obtained the especial favour of the king, who gave them, in 1662, a charter of incorporation under the name of the Royal Society, of which William Lord Brouncker was constituted the first president.

The more important papers read before this society began to be published in 1665, under the name of the *Philosophical Transactions*, a work which has been continued to the present day without interruption, except in the four years from 1679 to 1683, the three years from 1687 to 1691, and some shorter intervals, amounting in all to nearly a year and a half more, previous to October 1695. The chief subjects of inquiry were at first mechanical, astronomical, optical, anatomical, chemical, agricultural, &c.; and for some time little more than mere accounts of observations and experiments, or unmathematical explanations and hypotheses were furnished. The society was, however, highly useful as a stimulus to the great minds of the age, and a means of bringing them in contact with congenial spirits, so that its history is, in fact, nearly the history of English science throughout the remainder of this period.

25. One of the greatest mechanical geniuses of the age was

the Marquis of Worcester, whose "Century of Inventions" is noted as containing the first available idea of a STEAM-ENGINE. This he calls "an admirable and most forcible way to drive water up by fire," and describes "one vessel of water rarefied by fire" as driving up forty feet of cold water.* In 1683 Sir Samuel Morland claimed this invention as his own, though not very boldly; but the first real improvement was made in 1690 by Denis Papin, a Frenchman resident in England, who discovered the action of the piston and its reaction by condensation of the steam. He also invented the safety-valve, but applied it only in his well-known digester, where steam was used simply for the purpose of producing heat. The first practical engine was constructed in 1698 by Captain Savery, which was employed, however, only for the raising of water. Improvements were afterwards effected by Newcomen (in 1711), Desaguliers (in 1718) and Beighton; all forerunners of that day when the immortal Watt produced the iron-armed giant of modern times in all its marvellous plenitude of power.

26. Amongst the leading scientific men of the latter part of this era was the Honourable Robert Boyle, youngest son of the first Earl of Cork, who made considerable improvements in the air-pump (invented a few years before by Otto von Guericke of Magdeburg) and in the science of pneumatics, along with some advances in chemistry. Another distinguished person was Robert Hooke, who, besides being a superior chemist, is believed to have been the great improver of the pendulum and of pendulum watches. William Lord Brouncker, too, first president of the Royal Society, was a good mathematician, and first noticed the theory of continued fractions in arithmetic and the method of squaring the hyperbola. Dr. John Wallis, besides his many learned and ingenious works on algebra, geometry, and mechanical philosophy, was the author of a plan for teaching deaf and dumb persons to speak, which seems to have been tolerably successful. A more

* The Marquis may have gathered the idea from a work published at Paris, forty years before his own, by a French engineer, one Solomon de Caus, which contained a principle apparently the same.

singular character was the famous bishop of Chester, Dr. John Wilkins, whose best known works are the "Discovery of a New World," in which he attempts to prove the practicability of a passage to the moon, and "Essay towards a Real Character," which was a scheme for a universal language. Dr. Isaac Barrow and Sir Christopher Wren were also distinguished by their valuable contributions to mathematical science. Dr. James Gregory, a Scottish professor, and inventor of the reflecting telescope, with his nephew David, are celebrated for their geometrical and analytical works, and Collins, Cotes, Robert Smith, and Brook Taylor, are names of no inconsiderable note in the annals of mathematics.

27. But the glory of the age in this department is undoubtedly the undying name of Sir Isaac Newton, who lived between 1642 and 1727. The splendid career of this unrivalled mathematician began at a very early period of life, and continued without interruption almost to his death. At twenty-two he is believed to have discovered the Binomial Theorem in algebra, a year later the doctrine of fluxions (now known as the Differential Calculus), and in the next the great principle of gravitation, which was not, however, even mentioned to any one for sixteen years, when a more accurate calculation of the earth's diameter enabled him to correct the apparent contradictions of his theory in the case of the moon's movement round the earth and that of bodies falling towards the earth. His great work, the Principia, was published at the expense of the Royal Society in 1687. In the interim he had made his other grand discovery of the separable character of a ray of light and the different refrangibility of its separate parts, thus revolutionising the whole science of optics. From the time of Newton, indeed, a new system of the universe was established, and every science connected with it proceeded henceforth upon principles hitherto unknown.

28. Astronomy, in particular, as might be expected, benefited largely by these new and striking theories. The Royal Observatory was founded at Greenwich by Charles II. in 1676, and put under the care of the famous John Flamsteed, whose astronomical observations are justly regarded as form-

ing the foundation of modern practical astronomy. His catalogue of the stars, in particular, (of which he noted above 3300) has served as the basis of selection and nomenclature for all that have succeeded. He was followed by Edmund Halley, whose history belongs, indeed, in great part to the 18th century. In 1679, however, he published a catalogue of the Southern Stars (besides many papers in the Philosophical Transactions), and in 1680 observed the comet, since known by his name, the return of which, in the years 1758 and 1835, he was the first to predict.

29. In chemistry many new and important facts, relative to respiration and combustion, were announced in the tracts of John Mayow, a physician of Oxford, published in 1674, which were followed by the first general theory of combustion, promulgated about the beginning of the next century, by the German chemist Stahl. In medical science the greatest name is that of Sydenham, whose practice and writings mark a new era in medicine. Anatomy was somewhat advanced by Humphrey Ridley and William Cowper before the close of this period, and some progress made in zoology and comparative anatomy. Botany assumed quite a new form under the hand of the great Ray, whose works were published between 1670 and 1705. The botanical garden at Oxford had, however, been founded by Earl Danby so early as 1632. Ornithology and ichthyology may be said to have been introduced into England by Francis Willughby, and conchology by Dr. Lister during the latter half of the 17th century. In geology some facts were collected by Ray, Woodward, and others, and a few general principles began to be perceived; but the fanciful speculations of Thomas Burnet and William Whiston upon the structure, origin, and destiny of the earth, for a time attracted far more attention.

30. The ancient and modern styles of English architecture are, at length, clearly separated under the reign of James I., from which time the semi-classical school carried all before it; and in the hands of the famous Inigo Jones, excelled for a space that of any nation in Europe. This great architect was born in 1572, and studied his art in Italy, where he

acquired a high reputation, and is even said (though with little certainty) to have designed the Grand Piazza at Leghorn. At that time Italian architecture was in but a doubtful state; the feeble followers of Michael Angelo had perverted his original conceptions into monstrous forms; but a better taste was prevailing in the school of Palladio and his compeers, who were earnestly and successfully adapting the great models of antiquity to the wants and character of their own times. Trained amongst these men to the highest conceptions of modern art, Inigo Jones returned to England, and was soon appointed architect to Prince Henry, and afterwards surveyor to the government. His first great work was a design for the palace of Whitehall, which, having grown, after its purchase by the crown under Henry VIII., into a huge, irregular mass of building, extending from Scotland Yard on the north to Cannon Row on the south, and from the Thames on the east to the top of Downing Street in the west, King James had resolved to replace by a more uniform structure.

The magnitude of this design may be judged by its dimensions — it extended no less than 874 feet in length on the east and west sides, and 1152 on the north and south, the interior being distributed around seven different courts. Had this palace been finished, it would perhaps have been the finest specimen of modern architecture in Europe; but a single part only was executed, the Banqueting House, now the Royal Chapel of Whitehall. Other works of Inigo Jones are Lyndsay House, in Lincoln's Inn Fields; St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden (the earliest introduction of the temple form for the purposes of a modern church); and one which, with the whole building to which it belonged, has long disappeared from the earth, namely, a splendid portico to Old St. Paul's, which, although most inappropriately attached to a Gothic building, was yet in itself one of the most perfect structures that has ever been produced; besides numerous mansions in different parts of the country.

31. With the foundation of Whitehall the new era commenced — the Palladian style became the prevalent fashion;

and, with the exception of Wren and Vanbrugh and their respective followers, all the architects of the 17th and 18th centuries implicitly obeyed its laws. Jones himself, however, occasionally attempted a few adaptations of the old national style, the additions to St. John's College, Oxford, and Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, being of good semi-Gothic character. At this time the dangers and inconvenience of using so much timber in private houses caused several prohibitory proclamations, and brick and stone began to be used more generally in street fronts. Of these brick buildings an early specimen remains in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, not improbably the work of the great architect himself. Timber houses were still, however, pertinaciously erected till the great fire of London in 1666, when the legislature interposed with more effect.

32. The great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, whose name has raised the latter half of the 17th century to an honourable rivalry with the first, well deserves a separate section. Educated in a manner by no means professional, this distinguished genius, at the early age of eighteen, had already made himself known as a mathematician, astronomer, and mechanician of no mean powers, and was selected as one of the members of the Royal Society. To architecture he appears, however, to have always paid considerable attention; since, in 1661, he was called on by the king to assist Sir John Denham in his office. Not long after he was joined in a commission to undertake a survey of the cathedral of St. Paul, and to furnish plans for its restoration. At that time the whole of the ancient fabric was found to be in a state of ruinous dilapidation, brought on by time, or, still more effectually, by the rude hand of profane violence. During the Rebellion the body of the Church had been converted into a horse-barrack; the beautiful pillars of Inigo Jones' portico shamefully hewed and defaced, to support the timber work of shops which were set up along the colonnade; and several places in the roof had wholly fallen in. Wren's first plan was to rebuild the entire, on the model laid down by Jones in his portico; but this was not permitted by his fellow-commissioners, who would

have been well satisfied with any insignificant patching which might barely enable it to stand. The prejudices of the people were also strongly against the removal of the old tower, of which they were traditionally proud. Even the Great Fire did not at first put an end to the vain attempts at restoration, which were blindly persevered in for two years, until a second fall of the nave warned all of their utter absurdity. At length, in the year 1675, nine years after the fire, and twelve years after the first commission had been issued, the whole of the mighty work, from its commencement, was put into the hands of the genius which seemed to have been especially produced for the very purpose of its completion. The architect presented several designs for St. Paul's, of which his own favourite was not adopted; and the one which *was* underwent considerable alterations, at the suggestion of the Duke of York, in order to suit it to the Roman worship, which he already intended to revive. Similar treatment was experienced in his design for the Monument on Fish Street Hill, which differs widely from the original intention of the architect.

33. To Wren was also entrusted the restoration of London at large; and he produced a plan accordingly for rebuilding it anew upon a regular and consistent design. In this scheme the streets were to be uniformly laid out at widths of ninety, sixty, and thirty feet; the Exchange, Mint, Post Office, Excise, and other public offices, to occupy a grand central piazza, from which streets should radiate to all the principal points of the city, the parish churches being distributed at distances as nearly equal as possible, and each so placed as to form the termination of a vista. It may be added that these churches were to be completely isolated, and churchyards to be entirely banished to the suburbs. Towards the river a noble quay was to extend from London Bridge quite to the Temple. Private interest, however, and opposition of various kinds, prevailed, and the whole city, at length, rose up very little the better for all its opportunities, beyond the substitution of stone or brick houses for timber, the building of sufficient party-walls, and the fixing of rain-water pipes instead of "malicious spouts and gutters overhead."

34. The other works of Wren consist of fifty-one churches, erected from his designs in the city of London, and which may be divided into three classes — namely, domed churches; basilical, *i. e.* with nave and side aisles; and simple rectangular plans, without columns. Of these different kinds the most excellent are those of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, St. Magnus, Bow Church, and St. Lawrence Jewry. The spires and lanterns of all his churches deserve attention, not only from the judicious prominence which is given to them in the crowded positions which the buildings occupy, but also from the happy adaptation of Italian detail to Gothic forms. He also produced at an early period the Sheldon Theatre at Oxford; the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; the beautiful quadrangle called Neville's Court, and the chapels of Pembroke and Emmanuel Colleges, in the same university; at a later date the Royal Exchange and Temple Bar; the palace of Charles II. at Greenwich (afterwards enlarged under Queen Mary into the Royal Hospital), the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, the College of Physicians, Hampton Court, Palace of Winchester (left incomplete), some works at Windsor, Marlborough House, several halls of city companies, and numerous works of lesser note.

One of his latest employments was the repair of Westminster Abbey, to which he added part of the western towers, and proposed to erect a spire in the centre. He also made designs for a mausoleum at Windsor to Charles I. the money for which (70,000*l.*) was actually voted, but fell unhappily into the hands of Charles II., and for the palace of Whitehall after the fire. He died in 1723, after witnessing the completion of St. Paul's, of which he laid the last stone in the 79th year of his age, and was buried in the vault under the south aisle of the choir, with these memorable words above — SI MONUMENTA QUÆRIS CIRCUMSPICE. The subsequent history of architecture under Vanbrugh, Gibbs, &c., belongs to a period too modern for our range.

35. Sculpture was not patronised so extensively as architecture during this period, and few remains appear except monuments, which seldom rise above mediocrity. Before

the time of Charles I., indeed, the sculptor seems to have been hardly regarded as an artist, and the first Englishman of any eminence, Epiphanius Evesham, has left us no trace by which we can distinguish his works from those of others. The tombs of Sir Francis Vere, however, and of Lord Norris, in Westminster Abbey (both executed early in the 17th century), present us with figures of great beauty and expression. Nicholas Stone is the best known sculptor under King James, but his works are chiefly remarkable for their transition to the modern style of monumental composition and the adoption of the Roman costume, afterwards so universal. Under Charles I. several foreign artists of distinction came over, of whom Hubert Le Sœur was the chief, and, indeed, the first of this time who successfully followed the highest branches of the art. He executed many works in bronze, of which the beautiful equestrian statue of his royal patron at Charing Cross still remains. This relic was condemned to be broken up by the parliament, but was concealed by the brazier, John Rivet, who bought it as old metal, and was replaced in 1678; in the mean time the worthy brazier sold its pretended fragments at a good profit to the ardent royalists. Charles had also a bust taken of himself by Bernini, from a picture painted for the purpose by Vandyke; what became of this bust is not certainly known.

36. After the Restoration sculpture was almost exclusively applied to decoration, and only two artists have at all distinguished themselves. The fame of Cibber rests upon his two figures of Raving and Melancholy Madness in the hall of Bethlem Hospital, and Grinling Gibbons has executed little beyond his marble statue of Charles II. in the Royal Exchange, and bronze figure of James II. in the Privy Gardens. It is as a carver in wood, however, that the name of Gibbons is best known, and in that branch his exquisite productions, which rival the lightness and delicacy of nature herself, have certainly never been surpassed.

37. In painting the country was enriched by an admirable collection made by Charles I. immediately after his accession. Amongst these were the famous cartoons of Rafaelle, and

many works of Titian, Correggio, Julio Romano, Guido, and Parmegiano. The living painters who visited England, however, were chiefly of the Flemish and Dutch schools (now in the zenith of their fame), of whom the great Vandyke became, under the liberal patronage of Charles, so much associated with this land that he is scarcely ever considered as a foreigner. As a portrait painter this artist is only second to Titian, and his works, which are widely distributed around our mansions, no doubt contributed largely to form the great English school in this line. Rubens himself came over in 1630, at first as an envoy of the King of Spain, but was soon prevailed upon to assume the pencil, and paint the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall with the apotheosis of James I., for which he received 3000*l.* The celebrated enamel painter, John Petitot, remained in England till the death of the king, by whom he had been knighted as a mark of esteem.

38. With his accustomed taste and magnificence, Charles had intended to found an academy of arts on a most extended scale for the encouragement of native genius, but the stern hand of the parliament crushed his noble project, and soon after broke up his fine collection at Whitehall, commanding that all pictures with any superstitious representations should be *burnt*. The parliamentary leaders had, however, somewhat better taste and judgment, and quietly secured for themselves or profitably disposed of the destined victims of puritanic zeal. Cromwell bought the cartoons for 300*l.*, and as soon as he came into power put a stop to the further dispersion of the gallery, but not before many of the finest gems had been, unhappily, sold into foreign countries.

39. One of the best native artists of this time was a Scotchman, George Jamieson, who studied under Rubens with considerable success. Vandyke's favourite pupil in England was William Dobson, whose works are often taken for his master's; another of his scholars was Robert Walker, the chief portrait painter to Cromwell, who sat to him many times. In miniatures the English stand pre-eminent, and the Olivers, father and son, Hoskins, and especially Samuel Cooper, raised this branch of art to its very highest perfection.

40. Under Charles II. French taste became predominant in the arts, and the most distinguished foreigner invited to this country was Antonio Verrio, a mediocre painter of ceilings and staircases, some of whose works, with those of his imitator Laguerre, still remain at Windsor and Hampton Court. A more valuable visitor came of his own accord, the great portrait painter, Sir Peter Lely, a native of Westphalia, but whose style was formed in England upon the models left by Vandyke. Lely was made for the luxurious court of Charles, and in delicacy and softness of handling he is inimitable, but there is too great a sameness of expression in all his female portraits, though in these he particularly excelled. Several other Dutch portrait painters came over, of whom the most eminent was William Wissing; but at length Sir Godfrey Kneller overcame all competition, and was universally acknowledged the first artist of his day. Unfortunately his love of money was greater than that of art, and the consequence of his pernicious example was an almost total degradation of English art for some time. Painters of still life were now highly valued, the most exquisite of whom were Varelst, the Dutch flower-painter, Hondius, the animal painter, and the two Vandeveldes, who passed many years in England to the great honour of their patrons.

41. As a decorative painter Sir James Thornhill, who painted the cupola of St. Paul's and the halls at Greenwich Hospital and Blenheim, stands very high. Of English artists there were also Isaac Fuller, who studied in France, and executed some tolerable wall-pieces. In the same line were John Freeman, who painted scenes for the theatres, and Robert Streater, serjeant-painter to the King, one of whose ceilings still remains in the theatre at Oxford. Hayls, Wright (a Scotchman), Anderton, Riley, Flatman, and Greenhill, were all portrait painters, and of considerable excellence.

42. The sister art of engraving, in which England has since excelled all Europe, now begins to claim our attention. Engraving is, indeed, as old as printing, for the earliest English printers introduced small blocks for their devices,

and Caxton's "Golden Legend," published in 1483, has many cuts dispersed through the body of the work. The first book that appeared with copper-plates was a medical work, published by Thomas Raynalde in 1540, but there is no engraver's name affixed. The earliest English copper-plate engraver whose name we know is Thomas Geminus, who executed the plates for another medical book, about the close of Henry VIII. Before the end of the 16th century, however, the English engravers had attained sufficient reputation to be engaged in foreign countries, and Thomas Geminus and Humfrey Lluyd engraved the plates for "Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," published at Antwerp in 1570. Ralph Aggas is also famous for his plans and views, especially of London, executed under Elizabeth, and to Christopher Saxton we are indebted for the first publication of county maps. Early in the 17th century a Dutch family of the name of Pass settled in this country, one of whom was the master of John Payne, the first English engraver of any merit as an artist; but he was too idle to prosecute his profession to any great extent. Vandyke's fame as a painter brought Robert de Voerst and Luke Vostermans into England to engrave his portraits, who were also the first in this country to execute historical works.

43. But the best known foreign engraver who made England his home was Hollar, a German by birth, brought over by the great Earl of Arundel in 1637 *, who devoted himself to minute works, such as shells, furs, and especially views, plans, maps, and elevations, in which he certainly displayed himself as a most finished artist. His engravings, according to Ver-

* This distinguished nobleman, the father of *virtù* in England, was a great collector of statues and pictures, which he liberally displayed to all who might derive any advantage from the exhibition. His treasures were dispersed during the wars; but they were fortunately caught up and preserved in different places. His statues and inscriptions (the famous Arundelian marbles) are at Oxford, the busts principally at Wilton, and the gems in the great Marlborough collection. The nobles of the court of Charles I. were in general, indeed, well qualified to appreciate and to patronise the productions of superior genius.

tue's catalogue, amount to the extraordinary number of 2384, and many of them from his own drawings. A higher style of art was followed by Peter Lombart, a native of Paris, who came over about 1654, and engraved a set of female half-lengths after Vandyke with great success. It is said that he erased the face of Charles I. from a plate to make way for that of Cromwell, and replaced the king's at the Restoration.

Under Charles II. engraving rose to a very high pitch, chiefly in the hands of William Faithorne, who executed portraits with singular force, freedom, and delicacy; his son and John Fillian were amongst his best pupils. The other principal artists of the day were of German or Dutch extraction. The invention of mezzotint is an epoch in the art which belongs to this period, and (according to common report) to Prince Rupert, who discovered it from observing the effects of rust on a gun-barrel. It has been shown, indeed, that this is not true, as mezzotint may be traced so far back as 1643; but its introduction into England may, at all events, be ascribed to that accomplished prince, who laboured earnestly for its improvement, and was rewarded by seeing it become a thoroughly English art, which no other country has ever yet been able to rival.

44. Connected with this subject is that of coinage, which was improved in a surprising manner during the Commonwealth (a period otherwise so unfavourable to the arts) by an Englishman named Thomas Simon, pupil of the French artist Nicholas Briot, who was engraver to the mint in the time of Charles I. Simon's head of Oliver Cromwell on the Commonwealth money can hardly, indeed, be excelled. He was succeeded at the Restoration by the brothers Rotier, sons of a Dutch banker, who were excellent medallists, but by no means equal to Simon.

45. In music the reign of James I. was not deficient, though he himself was singularly devoid of taste or ear. He had wit enough, however, to increase the salaries of his gentlemen of the chapel to 40*l.* a year, and to establish a company for the entertainment of his son, Prince Henry, with the same stipend. To the latter band belonged Thomas Ford,

one of the sweetest madrigalists in the world; a style of music in which two others, Ward and Weelkes, also excelled. But the great composer of the age was Orlando Gibbons, organist of the Chapel Royal, whose cathedral music retains the character of extreme science and dignity, combined with great effect, and whose madrigals are in no way inferior to his cathedral music. In 1622 a music lecture was founded at Oxford by William Heyther, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

Charles I., like all James's children, was well instructed in music, and is said to have played well on the viol da gamba. His organist, Dr. Child, does honour to the English school, and one of his servants was Henry Lawes, whose works are well worthy of being better known. With the progress of puritanism and the din and hurry of the wars, music fell into much disuse, and church music in particular, with its sublime instrument, the organ, was violently denounced from a feeling which exists amongst the Scotch Presbyterians to this day.* Cromwell, however, ordered the great organ which had been forcibly taken from Magdalene College, Oxford, to be brought to Hampton Court, where he entertained himself with its solemn sounds during his leisure hours. Hingston, his organist, had a salary of 100*l.* per annum; and the Protector attended frequent concerts at his house. Some of the cavaliers too kept up their musical meetings, as did also the University of Oxford, and stiff old Dr. Busby, master of Westminster school, insisted upon keeping and using an organ in utter defiance of the parliament.

46. With the Restoration naturally returned the full choral service, that is, as soon as organs and musicians could be found, the first having been generally removed and sometimes destroyed, and the second dispersed in many different directions. The only four organ builders who remained were, however, soon set to work, some of the former musical staff again collected, and a book of directions for choirs published by order of the University of Oxford. The master of the

* Church organs were all taken down by an ordinance issued in 1644, to which a characteristic reference is made in the index of Scobell's collection — "*Organs*, see *Superstition*."

children at the Chapel Royal at this time was Cook, amongst whose pupils Humphrey, Wise, Blow, and Purcell, have attained the most distinguished name. Of Purcell in particular, it is impossible to speak too highly, for he had no equal in England, either before or during his own time, and was superior to any of the contemporaneous musicians on the Continent. His sacred music is very fine, but is exceeded by his secular compositions, especially those written for the theatre, which are of the most extraordinary beauty; his *King Arthur* may be considered indeed as the parent of the English opera. This truly great composer died in 1695, in his 37th year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

47. Charles II. had unfortunately a taste for French customs, in music as in every thing else, and attempted to introduce a band of violins, like that of Louis XIV., into the Chapel Royal, which gave great offence, and was soon withdrawn. At that time church music was quite the fashion, and ladies were attended to the afternoon anthem as they would now be escorted to the opera. The Universities did their utmost to promote the melodious art; but in London the first assembly deserving the name of concert was established by a singular man of the lowest class, dwelling in an obscure street (Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell), with a ladder to mount to his crowded concert-room. This was Thomas Britton, the famous musical small-coal man, at whose meetings Pepusch and often Handel played the harpsichord, and the highest nobility and most elegant ladies were but too happy to attend. Music-houses were soon opened in different parts of the metropolis, of which Sadler's Wells was one of the first; and public concerts, both English and Italian, vocal and instrumental, became fashionable and frequent before the close of the 17th century.

48. Of theatrical music an early specimen is Lock's music to Macbeth, brought out in 1674, which has in no degree lost its power to please at the present day; and several operas and other pieces appear before Purcell's great works, which did not come on the stage till after the Revolution. Several scientific treatises were now written on music, espe-

cially by Sir Francis North, keeper of the great seal, who may be considered as the father of musical philosophy.

49. Popular songs and ballads still retained all their excellence as well as attractions, although Charles's taste had set the current strongly against British composers. The National Anthem, "God save the King," is supposed to have been produced under James II., as was also the favourite political song Lillibullero, thought to be by Purcell. James, however, had neither time nor inclination to encourage the fine arts, and so music remained stationary till the Revolution had brought about a more settled period and orderly state of things.

50. The woollen manufacture continued to maintain all its former importance, being, as an old writer observes, "like the water to the wheel that driveth round all other things." Under Charles I. some clothiers employed as many as 500 persons, who generally carried on their work under their own roofs — no large factories existing as in modern times. The art of dyeing was very imperfect till, in 1643, a Dutchman established himself at Bow, and taught the method of producing the fine scarlet dye of foreign cloths; and about the same time the method of fixing the dye of logwood was discovered. In 1666, also, some Flemings began to dress white woollen cloths in a superior style, and an improved weaving machine was brought over from Holland. Many new descriptions of woollen stuffs were now made, as baize, perpetuanos, sayes, &c., and sundry attempts were made to imitate the strange articles of dress which were newly brought from India. In order to promote the woollen manufacture, the export of wool, sheep, and fuller's earth was prohibited, and the dead were ordered to be buried universally in woollen, under a penalty of 5*l.* for each offence. Guernsey and Jersey were partially exempted, however, from the exportation act, and those islands soon became famous for stockings and hosiery.

51. Great exertions were made at this time to fix the silk manufacture in England, and it is supposed that most of the old mulberry trees (including the famous one in Shakspere's garden) were planted in consequence of a proclamation to that effect, issued by James I. in 1608, along with which

10,000 plants were sent to each county for sale at a very low rate, accompanied by instructions for the breeding and rearing of silkworms. This part of the plan was rendered unnecessary, indeed, by the importation of raw silk from India; but the manufacture itself went on, workmen were invited from other countries, and incorporated in 1629, and so early as 1660 the silk-throwsters alone employed above 40,000 men, women, and children. A still greater impulse was given to this trade in 1685, when, by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Louis XIV. compelled many thousands of French artisans to seek refuge in this country; many of these settled in Spital-fields as silk-weavers, and their superior taste and skill was soon displayed in the fine silks, satins, brocades, and lutestrings which the looms of England produced. London was the chief seat of this manufacture, although a weaver might here and there be found in the country towns.

52. Linens were for a long time chiefly made at home, and for domestic purposes. In 1622 hemp and flax were imported ready dressed, and linens brought from Germany. In 1666, however, an act was passed to encourage the linen trade and hemp dressing; and in 1669 some French Protestants settled at Ipswich, and made linens so fine as to be sold for 15*s.* an ell: the linen manufacture, introduced by the Scotch into the north of Ireland, was now also gradually rising in importance. Manchester was distinguished for its cotton manufactures so early as 1641; and the printing of calicoes, in imitation of Indian goods, commenced in London in 1676. Fine writing-paper and glass were much improved in quality by the French refugees and some Venetians about the close of this period.

53. The prejudices against using coal in houses continued to be very strong, but it now began to be employed more extensively in the arts. In the act of 1624, for putting an end to monopolies, a patent was excepted, granted to the Earl of Digby, for the process of smelting iron with coal. Before the close of the century both coal and iron works were in extensive operation in Staffordshire, the Forest of Dean, and other counties; and Birmingham, Dudley, Wolverhampton, &c. were fully employed in the various manufactures thence

arising. The art of tinning plate-iron was brought from Germany by an Englishman who went over to learn the process; and a Dutchman erected the first wire mill at Richmond, in Surrey.

A yellow metal, resembling gold, was now invented, and called Prince's Metal, from Prince Rupert, the same ingenious nobleman who patronised a curious floating machine, worked by horses, for towing ships against wind and tide, and a diving machine, in which Sir William Phipps brought up a treasure from a Spanish ship lost in the West Indies. Alum was first made in England at the commencement of this period, and in 1608 the use of foreign alum was prohibited. In 1658 pocket-watches were first made here.

54. This country had for some time been famous for its ordnance; and, in 1629, Charles I. had 610 pieces cast in the Forest of Dean for the States General of Holland. Shipbuilding is indebted for many improvements to the East India Company, who sent out much larger and finer vessels than before. All kinds of furniture and cabinet work were also incomparably better executed than in former times.

55. Since the cities and incorporated towns had begun to lose their exclusive privileges, the number of persons living by trade and industry had greatly increased. The "ruin" of market-towns was accordingly predicted, from the number of petty shopkeepers who were found to be living in country villages, assisted by persons who had never served any apprenticeship, and, worst of all, in defiance of all propriety, actually carrying on a flourishing trade!

CHAPTER IV.

NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. WITH the progress of improvements in fire-arms the cumbrous armour of our ancestors gradually disappeared, and by the close of this century very little remained to mark the man of war. James I., indeed, declared that its use was quite as much to keep the wearer from harming others as from being harmed himself; but James would certainly never have made a knight of renown in any age. In 1632 the English cavalry was divided into four classes: — 1. The Lanciers, who were the fullest armed, and who wore a close casque or head-piece, gorget, breast and back plates (pistol and caliver proof), pauldrons, vambraces, gauntlets, tassets and cullessetts to guard the lower parts of the body, culets or garde-de-reins, jack-boots, and a buff coat with long skirts between their clothes and their armour. Their weapons were a long sharp sword, a lance of eighteen feet, one or two large pistols, with a powder-flask, cartouch-box, and all necessary appurtenances. 2. The Cuirassiers, with back, breast, and head-piece, sword and pistols. 3. Harquebussiers or Carabineers, who, with the same arms and armour, carried also a harquebuss or carabine. 4. The Dragoons, first raised in France in 1600, wore only a buff coat with deep skirts, and an open head-piece with cheeks, and sometimes bars in front. These last were divided at first into pikemen and musketeers, according to their weapon; but in 1645 they exchanged the heavy musket for the shorter piece called the dragon (whence their name); and again, in 1649, for the still lighter caliver or culiver (corrupted from *calibre*, as being of the bore ordered by government). The modern firelock was invented about 1635; and the old musket-rest and swine's feather (the precursor of the bayonet) were abandoned during

the civil wars. The Infantry were variously armed, and carried matchlocks, pikes, or swords and bucklers, with a sight hole, and a slit to thrust the sword through in stabbing.

2. The faint image of chivalry which had hovered around the court of Elizabeth was entirely banished by her peaceful and bookish successor, after the first year or two of his reign. His gallant son Henry, indeed, was fond of the exercises of the tournament, but the English nobles did not care to follow an example which he lived not long enough to enforce. The rapier and dagger now superseded the lance and battle-axe, and the duello was constantly resorted to, not only in private and personal quarrels, but even upon the great public questions of the day. Sometimes the gentlemen duellists had a good set-to with cudgels before the more fatal fight began, and all manner of unfair practices were resorted to until the appointment of seconds was generally adopted, after which the clothes of the combatants were also searched, or they stripped and fought in their shirts, to preclude the idea of treachery. Men of nice honour observed great form and ceremony in their challenges, which were delivered orally with hat in hand, profound bows, and great protestations of respect, or by letter, in which the length of the challenger's sword and the terms of combat were gravely stated. If the party challenged declined the engagement the bearer formally stuck the cartel on the point of his sheathed rapier and again presented it: if it were again refused, the weapon was gently lowered till it fell at the recusant's feet. Duelling, however, was soon abandoned for more serious warfare, and under the Puritan government it was no longer tolerated. The principal exercise for the martial spirit of soldiery was on the Continent and in Ireland, until the course of events at home supplied them with a less happy arena for their courage and skill.

3. Before the commencement of the civil wars the citizens of London were carefully trained four times a year in the use of the musket and pike, to the no small weariness of those quiet shopkeepers. When once the excitement of actual battle came on, however, they proved themselves truly

gallant soldiers, and their despised ranks were often more than a match for the fiery cavalry of Prince Rupert. Their military manœuvres were much improved by the genius of Cromwell, whose troops were always the best disciplined and officered, and best supplied with artillery; his army, when it served afterwards in Flanders, was highly complimented by Louis XIV.

4. After the Restoration the defensive armour of the cavalry consisted simply of a back-piece, breast-piece, and open pot helmet (the latter two pistol proof); the rest being composed entirely of buff leather: the weapons were a sword and case of pistols, the barrels of which were not to be under fourteen inches in length. The infantry were armed with a musket (the barrel not less than three feet long), a collar of bandeliers, (or cartridges, afterwards superseded by a cartridge box of tin,) and a sword; or a pike of stout ash, not under sixteen feet, with back, breast, head-piece, and sword. Officers wore a helmet and cuirass, or sometimes only a large gorget over the buff coat. The bayonet was invented in the reign of Charles II. at Bayonne, in France, whence its name. It was sometimes triangular, sometimes flat, with a wooden hilt like a dagger, and was screwed or merely stuck *into* the muzzle of the gun.

5. The modern names of regiments were first given in this reign, the Coldstreams or Foot Guards being formed in 1660, when two regiments were added to one raised about ten years before by General Monk at Coldstream on the borders of Scotland; to these were added the 1st Royal Scots, brought over from France at the Restoration. The Life Guards were raised in 1661, with the Oxford Blues (so called from their first commander Aubrey, Earl of Oxford); and also the 2d or Queen's Foot. The 3d or Old Buffs were raised in 1665, and the 21st Foot or Scotch Fusiliers (from their carrying the fusil, which was lighter than the musket) in 1678. In that year the Grenadiers (so named from their original weapon, the hand grenade) were first brought into our service, and in 1680 the 4th or King's Own were raised. James II. added to the cavalry the 1st or King's Regiment of Dragoon

Guards and the 2d or Queen's ditto in 1685: to the infantry in the same year the 5th and 7th, or Royal Fusiliers, and in 1688 the 23d or Welsh Fusiliers.

6. Duelling was carried to an awful extent at this time, and fatal encounters for the most trifling causes were of daily occurrence. An odd sort of armour, made of wadded silk, was got up on the alarm of the terrible Popish Plot, something on the plan of James the First's dress of proof, "in which any man dressed up was as safe as in a house, for it was impossible any one could go to strike him for laughing, so ridiculous was the figure, as they say, of hogs in armour." With this strange mail was combined a weapon called the Protestant Flail, made of heavy wood, and easily carried in the huge pockets of the day.

7. The royal navy continued to increase during this period both in number and magnitude of vessels. Elizabeth's navy proper is said at her death to have comprised but thirteen ships, but James I. had twenty-four — whilst her largest ship was but of 1000 tons, and carried only 40 cannon, and he built the Prince, of 1400 tons, which was armed with 64 guns. A still greater was built by Charles I. in 1637, named the Sovereign of the Seas, which carried above 100 guns, and was estimated at 1680 tons' burden. In his reign the navy was sufficiently numerous to be divided into six rates, as at the present day, each rate consisting of two classes, to which different complements of men were assigned.

The Barbary corsairs were, however, bold enough still to interrupt our trade up the Mediterranean, where they used to sail with a fleet of forty tall ships, blocking up the ports and cruising all along the coast. In 1621 an attempt was made by Sir Robert Maunsell, Vice Admiral of England, with eight royal ships and twelve armed merchantmen, to burn the barks at Algiers, but in vain; and on his departure the pirates immediately sallied forth and captured no less than forty English vessels. Under Charles I. these daring rovers entered (as they had sometimes done before) the English Channel, disembarked, pillaged the hamlets, and carried off the inhabitants into *slavery* to the number of

several thousands! At the same time the English flag was insulted with impunity by every maritime power of Europe. The navy, indeed, was so sadly neglected at times under Charles, that when an expedition was about to be sent to France only one ship could be found fit to put to sea. In one way or another, however, eighty sail were soon after mustered for a cruise against the Spanish galleons; but every thing was mismanaged on board, the expected prizes were totally missed, and the fleet returned in disgrace. The hundred ships conducted by Buckingham to the Isle of Rhé might, perhaps, have avoided a similar disaster had their commander been more prudent.

8. But these reproaches were soon wiped off by the energy and talent of Cromwell, supported by the valiant Admiral Blake, in whose first engagement with the famous Dutch officer, Van Tromp, twenty English ships successfully encountered twice their number. The spirit of the British seaman now rose again, and in every quarter, though not always crowned with victory, he, at least, maintained his ancient reputation. In a subsequent battle with Van Tromp, Blake mustered eighty men of war, and after three days' fight in the Channel, succeeded in taking or destroying eleven ships of war and thirty merchantmen, having himself lost only a single vessel. In the final conflict, in which the gallant Dutchman lost his life, his nation was deprived of thirty ships, whilst the English lost but two. With the Barbary pirates and the Spanish fleets Blake was equally victorious, and the ports of England began once more to be filled with the rich prizes of the sea.

9. At the Restoration the tonnage of the royal navy was 57,463 tons, and in 1685 it was 103,558, but during the reign of James II. it declined to 101,892, although that monarch is said to have paid great attention to this branch of the service, and bestowed upon it a liberal expenditure. The naval battles fought with the Dutch under Charles II. were not at first very distinguished, the commanders never seeming to possess the determined courage of old Blake, the officers generally being raw and inexperienced, and the seamen often left in a

miserable state for want of pay. De Ruyter had upon one occasion nearly destroyed the English fleet, but he was shortly afterwards himself defeated, and the Dutch coast ravaged at will. He was not long in avenging his discomfiture, however, and in 1667 he boldly sailed up the Thames with eighty sail and many fire-ships, burnt Sheerness and three of our best ships, and would probably have reached London had not Prince Rupert thrown up some batteries at Woolwich and sunk a number of vessels in the river to stop his passage.

Ship of War — temp. Charles II. (from a medal struck on the appointment of the Duke of York as Lord High Admiral.)

In the subsequent conflicts with the sturdy Dutchmen no better result attended the English arms, and at length peace was concluded without any redress of the national honour. France, too, at this time raised a magnificent navy manned by 60,000 sailors, and exacted homage in every direction; whilst England seemed for a space to have wholly resigned the sovereignty of the seas. Bombships, the invention of a Frenchman, were introduced into this country in 1688.

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

1. IT would appear that at the commencement of this period our countrymen were as yet no match for the laborious and active Hollanders in the pursuits of commerce; thus in the ordinary trade with Holland the Dutch usually employed some 500 or 600 vessels, but the English not one-tenth that number, and our own fisheries were almost monopolised by Dutch boats, which are said to have carried off nearly 2,000,000*l.* worth every year, whilst we had scarcely any trade in fish at all; nor did our wool, cloth, lead, tin, and other native products, employ anything like the number of English vessels which they ought. In fact the busy commercial states of Holland had secured nearly the whole carrying trade of the world, notwithstanding the many natural advantages of this island, and its own numerous and rich articles of produce.

During the entire of James the First's reign English commerce advanced but slowly, and its greatest evil, the heavy custom-dues, were rather augmented than relieved. Yet that upon the whole there was some increase, is plain from the state of the shipping and of the exports and imports at different periods. At James' accession it is said that there were not more than 400 ships in England of 400 tons burden; but a considerable list of vessels is given in 1615, some of which were of very large size. In 1613, again, the exports and imports taken together amounted in value to 4,628,586*l.*, in 1622 to 4,939,751*l.* The highest of these amounts may be about the *twentieth part* of the present value. A more rapid progress was made under Charles I.; and although commerce necessarily suffered greatly during the civil wars, yet upon the restoration of tranquillity both the parliament and Cromwell took great pains to secure its revival, in which they were tolerably successful.

But it was between the Restoration and the Revolution that the trade of England chiefly throve, and made its steadiest and most permanent advances. From the returns of the customs, which we possess for the whole of that time, it appears that, in 1661, the produce of the past year was only about 361,356*l.*, whilst for the three years ending at Michaelmas, 1688, it averaged annually about 815,874*l.*, or fully double the former sum. The exports and imports, too, taken together, amount in 1663 to 6,038,831*l.*, and in 1669 to 6,259,413*l.*; but the notices on this head are too scanty to carry us any farther. The mercantile shipping, again, in 1688 was in tonnage nearly double what it had been in 1666. Our old rivals the Dutch were now in their turn beginning to dread our commercial power, and in De Witt's "Interest of Holland," published in 1669, may be found the most lively expressions of apprehension at the growth of English manufactures and our "great navigation." In several branches of trade, indeed, particularly in the fisheries, they were still far ahead of us; but as the general commerce of the country was much more extensive and profitable than ever before, the English merchants may have purposely neglected these as not so advantageous as others. Yet the great plague of 1665 and fire of 1666 must have been considerable shocks; but in thirteen or fourteen years they appear to have been fully recovered, and the national wealth to have augmented even faster than before.

2. The first adventure of the East India Company was completed in 1603, when their captain, Lancaster, returned with his four ships full laden with pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and India cloths, the last of which had been not very legitimately obtained from a captured Portuguese carrack. The sale of these goods, however, was but slow, and the government broke its faith to the company by allowing private merchants to trade in the eastern seas, which, joined with a popular outcry against the expensiveness and great mortalities of the new trade, had nearly induced them to abandon the business altogether. Another expedition was sent out, however, of which a single ship only realised much profit; but *her* cargo of

spices sold so well as to produce a dividend of 211 per cent. A new charter, too, was gained in 1609, making their privilege of exclusive trade perpetual, a power, however, being reserved to the government of dissolving them, at any time, upon three years' notice. They now built the largest merchant ship yet seen in England (being of more than 1000 tons' burden), at whose launch the king and many nobles were present; but, unfortunately, this noble bark was lost on her first voyage. Their affairs continued, nevertheless, to prosper, and amongst many instances of extraordinary profits may be mentioned one dividend of 340 per cent. upon a voyage of only twenty months. Their stock, indeed, now sold at 203 per cent.

The Portuguese and Dutch endeavoured to thwart this successful trade by every means in their power, but for some time in vain; their ships were defeated in action, and their intrigues at the native courts overthrown by the appointment of an English ambassador at the court of the great Mogul, and by the establishment of numerous factories. At length the Dutch, by a long course of persevering hostilities and a dreadful massacre at Amboyna, embarrassed the Company so much, that they got into debt to the amount of 200,000*l.*; and towards the close of James I. had serious thoughts of giving up the trade altogether. Still more grievous difficulties were imposed upon them, in 1635, through the violation of their charter by Charles I., who granted licences to several adventurers to trade for five years among their settlements. These new traders, after having injured the old company to the extent of 100,000*l.*, and by their bad conduct procured the expulsion of the English from the ports of China (where they were not again admitted till 1680), failed in 1646 with a loss to themselves of 150,000*l.* Although little trade was carried on for some time, the East India Company obtained two of their most important possessions at this period, namely, Madras and St. Helena, and procured a compensation of 85,000*l.* from the Dutch government for the injuries inflicted by its subjects.

3. In 1657 a new charter was granted for seven years, just

as they were on the point of dissolution, upon which fresh stock was immediately raised, and the trade was recommenced with spirit and success. In 1661 they were reincorporated by Charles II., with all their ancient privileges, and the additional rights of erecting forts in India and St. Helena, and appointing judges to try both civil and criminal causes; of making peace and war with any people, not being Christians, within the limits of their trade; and of seizing all English subjects found without their licence in India or the Indian seas, and sending them home to England. The king also gave them the island of Bombay, which he had received from Portugal in the dower of his queen, to be held at an annual rent of 10*l.*, and afterwards permitted them to coin money in India, with other important privileges.

In 1676 they were enabled to double their capital out of the accumulated profits, upon which their stock rose immediately to 245 per cent. At that time they employed from thirty to thirty-five ships, from 300 to 600 tons burden, and carrying from 40 to 70 guns each; their annual exports amounted to about 430,000*l.*, namely, 320,000*l.* in bullion, and the rest in cloth and other goods; whilst the imports in calico, pepper, saltpetre, indigo, silk, drugs, &c., in the year 1674, produced 860,000*l.*, and often much more. A large private trade was allowed, besides, to their commanders, factors, and even seamen, in diamonds, pearls, musk, ambergris, &c. Of the exports in goods, 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* worth consisted of foreign commodities, and the rest of English, such as drapery, tin, and lead; of the imports, about 600,000*l.* worth were re-shipped to foreign countries, and the rest consumed at home. Pepper was then sold at 8*d.* a pound, which had formerly been 3*s.* 4*d.*, and which the Dutch would probably have kept up to that price, had they retained the power, as they did with other spices. In 1683 the company lost one of their oldest and best establishments, Bantam in the island of Java, which was taken by the Dutch; but they immediately set up a new factory at Bencoolen in Sumatra, by which they still preserved the great pepper trade.

In 1687 the humble foundations of the now magnificent capital of CALCUTTA were laid at the village of Sootanutty, to which the little Bengal factory had been removed from Hoogly, on the other side of the Ganges, in consequence of a quarrel with the nabob. Many years, however, elapsed before that singular course of events arose which at length placed a trading company upon the throne of Hindostan, and established the British Empire amidst the immense regions of the East.

4. In connexion with the East India Company it may be mentioned that our favourite beverage *tea* was first brought into England during this period. The earliest European writers who notice this invaluable herb are the Jesuit missionaries, who visited China and Japan about the middle of the 16th century, who describe it under the names of *cha* and *thee*. It appears to have been first imported, at least in any quantity, by the Dutch East India Company, early in the 17th century; but it is not mentioned in any English act of parliament till 1660, when it is placed under excise, along with chocolate, coffee, &c.; the tax was then levied upon the liquor when made and sold (which it was at the rate of 8*d.* a gallon), and not upon the imported commodity itself till the Revolution. Queen Catherine seems first to have made it at all fashionable in this country; but the quantity imported was for some time so small, that the East India Company could only procure, in 1664, 2lb. 2oz. (costing 40*s.* a lb.) when they wished to present some superior varieties to the king. Their own first importation was in 1669, when they received two canisters, containing 143½lbs. from Bantam, which they did not however sell, but gave away as presents, or used for the private refreshment of their committees. It was not, indeed, till after the Revolution that the use of tea began to be at all general in England.

5. In 1605 a new company was incorporated under the name of the Levant or Turkey Company, which exists to this day. By it considerable quantities of woollen goods, lead and tin, and afterwards of watches, jewellery, Indian goods, &c., were exported to Constantinople, commodities which used to

be carried entirely by the Venetians. It is said that the ordinary returns of this company were at first three to one upon the investments, and it continued to flourish till the close of the period. An English minister was also appointed, for the first time, at the court of the Grand Seignior, and consuls were nominated at the different ports frequented by its vessels. Among the productions of the East subsequently imported by the Levant Company, was *coffee*, which was first introduced in 1652 by a Turkey merchant, named Edwards, whose Greek servant, Pasqua Rosee, set up a coffee-house in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, where the Virginia Coffee-house now stands. Many satires appeared at first against this "syrop of soot and essence of old shoes," but the sober drink soon established its reputation, and coffee-houses spread in all directions. Chocolate-houses came in a long time after.

6. The company of Merchant Adventurers had now managed to get the whole woollen trade with the Netherlands into their hands, to the exclusion of the older merchants of the staple, and comprised, in fact, the whole body of English merchants trading to those countries, which, in the latter part of James the First's reign, amounted to about 4000 individuals. In return they brought back tapestry, cambrics, fine linens, hops, steel, wines, soap, wire, &c. &c. The great staple of the woollen trade was fixed at Hamburgh in 1651. Local companies were also established in some of the great towns, such as Exeter and Southampton, to which very comprehensive monopolies were granted. These exclusive privileges were sometimes denounced in parliament, but a few judicious new-year's-gifts to the great officers of state generally secured them to the purchasers once more.

7. A more ruinous as well as unconstitutional system of monopolies may be found in the patents for the exclusive sale or manufacture of particular commodities in England, which James I. issued by his mere prerogative to any one that was willing to go to the expense of the purchase; these were soon, however, so loudly clamoured against, that he was obliged to follow Elizabeth's example, and consent to

their revocation. The abuse was, nevertheless, quickly renewed, and again overthrown by the same means, although James took care to assure the House "in the heart of an honest man, and by the faith of a Christian king, which both ye and all the world know me to be," that he had known nothing about the matter, and that the patentees and the officers who had granted the patents were the only persons to be blamed. No one, however, at that time went the length of asserting that the crown did not rightfully possess this privilege, but it was merely argued that some patents (especially those of keeping inns and alehouses, and of making gold and silver thread) were prejudicial to the public interest, or had been grievously abused by their holders.

8. Amongst other branches of industry, one of particular consequence was now the northern fisheries, for, besides whales, the Greenland ships began to kill sea-horses, whose teeth were esteemed more valuable than ivory. This business was soon taken up by the Russia Company, who, having gained an exclusive charter, attempted, but in vain, to drive away all other pretenders. In 1617 the earliest mention is made of fins or whalebone brought home with the blubber. The mode of fishing then was much easier than afterwards, for the whales never having been much disturbed before, were found close along the shore, where they were killed, and their blubber landed at once and boiled in standing coppers; but after a time the fish became shy, and then they were obliged to pack it in casks to be boiled and purified in England, which made the fishing so troublesome that it was wholly laid aside for a considerable time.

9. Under James I. the trade to Spain and Portugal was in a very low state, owing to the wars with those countries under Elizabeth, but it subsequently revived, and after the year 1640 was more than trebled in extent. An attempt was made in 1618 to renew the trade with Guinea, by chartering an exclusive company, but it got involved in disputes with the private adventurers, by which both were at last ruined, and the trade for some time abandoned altogether. With the progress of our West India settlements, however, it was

again restored, and in the time of Charles II. became, under the auspices of the Royal African Company, of considerable importance.

10. Notwithstanding the disastrous attempts to found a colony in North America under Elizabeth, a considerable intercourse was kept up with the Indians on the coast by the London and Bristol merchants, who purchased furs and skins at a good profit, with beads, knives, and worthless trinkets. In 1606 James I. chartered two companies, called the London Adventurers, or South Virginia Company, whose range extended over the regions since known as Maryland, Virginia, and North and South Carolina; and the Plymouth Adventurers, who had all to the north of the others, including Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England. In the same year the Londoners founded Jamestown in Virginia, and in 1610 obtained from the king all the privileges of self-government, which were afterwards reclaimed, however, by Charles I. The settlers (at first only 100 in number) soon fell into quarrels, not only with the natives, but also with some colonists from France and Holland, and many perished by sickness, want, or massacre.* The Plymouth Company did not succeed in establishing a plantation in their territory till 1620, when a settlement called Plymouth was founded, and the whole country received from the Prince Charles the name of New England. Before the close of the century the plantation trade, *i. e.* the trade with the North American settlements, had risen into some consequence.

Various, but unsuccessful schemes were also tried for

* The royal charterer must have been sadly distressed afterwards to find that his faithful colonists of Virginia devoted themselves so industriously to the raising of that "stinking drug" tobacco, against which he not only directed his famous "Counterblast," but also the heavier metal of several violent proclamations. His fury was appeased, however, by a view of the profits likely to arise from the licensing of certain persons for its sale, and he confined himself accordingly to prohibiting its cultivation in our own island, where nevertheless it was largely planted for a long time after.

establishing English colonies in Newfoundland and on the eastern coast of South America. In 1612 a settlement was formed in the Bermuda or Somers' Isles, by a company who purchased them from the Virginians, whose pretended claim was founded on a story of their having been discovered by one of their captains, Sir George Somers. The Island of Barbadoes was also settled, in 1624, by a merchant of London, under the authority of the Earl of Marlborough, to whom it had been given for ever by the king.*

11. This last-named property was soon transferred to the Earl of Carlisle (to whom all the Caribbee Islands were also granted by Charles I. in 1629); but till the year 1641 its produce consisted only of some very bad tobacco and a little cotton and ginger. In that year, however, a few sugar canes were procured from Brazil (from which country all our sugar formerly came), which throve so well that a little sugar mill was set up, a manufacture which soon increased, and brought in large fortunes to the planters in a wonderfully short time. In 1659 upwards of 100 sail were employed in the trade of this single island, and, we must add with sorrow, in carrying slaves from the coast of Africa to cultivate its soil. Barbadoes was a great resort of the Royalists during the triumph of the parliament, and continued in a state of opposition to the new government till 1652, having actually proclaimed Charles II.

* Nearly all the West India islands not previously settled on were colonised about this time. In 1627 an English and a French company divided St. Christopher's between them, and the next year the English took in the adjacent islet of Nevis, and sent off settlers to Barbuda, and afterwards to Montserrat and Antigua. In 1629 the Bahamas were granted in perpetuity to Sir Robert Heath and his heirs, along with the province of Carolina on the mainland, which was afterwards conveyed to the Earl of Arundel, who had begun to plant it, when he was disturbed by the civil wars. In 1632 a part of Virginia was granted to Lord Baltimore, and called Maryland, in honour of the queen Henrietta Maria. As Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, this colony became the main refuge of those of that religion who were forced by the penal laws from England, much to the annoyance of their Puritan neighbours, who made several attempts to drive them out. In 1641 a plantation was made by Lord Willoughby at Surinam, in South America.

as king, and received Lord Willoughby as his governor. With a view, perhaps, of punishing this rebellious conduct of the colonies, as well as of overthrowing the carrying trade of the Dutch, the parliament passed its famous Navigation Act, in 1651, prohibiting all importation of Asiatic, African, or American merchandise, in any but English built ships, belonging to English subjects, and manned by, at least, three-fourths of English seamen —or of European goods in any but English ships, or ships of the particular country from which the articles were brought. The wealth and importance of Barbadoes were more effectually reduced, however, by the conquest of Jamaica, in 1656, to which many of the planters subsequently removed, being attracted by the greater cheapness of the land.

12. The Navigation Act of the Rump Parliament was re-enacted by Charles II., with a slight alteration, confining its second provision to goods from Russia or Turkey, and certain specified articles from other European countries; these articles were, however, amongst the most valuable imports, so that the act continued to be nearly as stringent as ever; whilst the same restrictions were now extended also to exports from England to the Continent. All this was done to deprive the Dutch of their carrying trade, and to foster the mercantile, and through it the naval marine of England; but both in those days and the present the wisdom of this policy has been severely questioned. A great outbreak of commercial jealousy, joined with political and religious zeal, occurred in 1678, when trade with France was entirely prohibited, under the idea that this country was sustaining a vast annual loss by the "balance of trade" being against us, *i. e.* that large sums of *money* were given instead of *goods* for the French commodities imported; a superabundance of money being long considered as the only real wealth of a kingdom, and every means accordingly taken to retain solid coin and bullion within its precincts. This strange act was not repealed till 1685, and was again renewed, after the Revolution, for a short time, though not without strong suspicions of its impolicy amongst the wiser heads of the age.

13. Out of these various questions and the new and strong impulses given to trade in every direction, began to arise in a more systematic shape than before the science which we now call Political Economy.* The prevalent theories of the day were what are called the mercantile and manufacturing systems, of which the first assumed that nothing was wealth but gold and silver, and consequently that the sole test of the profitableness of a trade was, whether, on the whole, it brought more money in than it took out. The second laid it down as a rule, that a trade was only profitable whenever, by means of restrictions or exclusive privileges, it could be made extravagantly gainful to the capitalists by whom it was carried on, and to the manufacturers who supplied the material. The interest of the consumer was entirely left out of view, it being assumed that he must be benefited by the increase of the trader's wealth. Connected with both these principles was the great, and, at one time, almost exclusive system of carrying on foreign trade by great chartered companies, which were not, indeed, without their uses in so imperfect a commercial state as then existed. The most noted writers upon these subjects in the 17th century were Thomas Mun, Sir Josiah Child, and Sir William Petty. The immediate object of the two first was to defend the East India Company against the assailants of its exclusive privileges on the one side, and those who denounced it as injuring the balance of trade on the other.

Before this controversy arose the general belief was, that the exportation of gold and silver ought, as far as possible, to be prevented, and this the government had, in fact, constantly attempted to do, till, in 1663, it was at length made *lawful* to export coin or bullion. Then it was thought that a trade, even though it should at first occasion such export, might still be profitable, if its imports by being re-exported should bring

* A curious tract had been written on this subject so early as 1581 by W. S. (now supposed to mean William Stafford, but at one time attributed to Shakspere), discussing very acutely the origin and distribution of wealth.

back again more money than had at first been carried out. On this principle Mun and Child attempted to prove the value of the Indian trade, our eastern commodities being advantageously re-shipped to the various European markets. This was so far, at least, an advance upon the old notion, and Sir William Petty carries it a little further; but the promulgation of really sound views upon the subject did not occur till long after the close of the present period.

14. The legal rate of interest on money was reduced, in 1624, from ten to eight per cent., (with the usual protests against usury,) where it rested till 1651, when it was further lowered to six per cent., at which rate it continued for the remainder of the period. A regular trade in the lending of money had now grown up from the following circumstance; the usual place for London merchants to keep their cash was, at one time, in the Royal Mint at the Tower, but Charles I. having destroyed the security of this spot by seizing a deposit of 200,000*l.* (under the name of a loan), shortly before the meeting of the Long Parliament, it became customary (it is said, though to us it seems strange enough) for men in business to entrust money to the keeping of their *clerks and apprentices*, who, at the breaking out of the civil war, often took to running away and joining the armies; so that at last, about 1645, commercial men first began to place their specie with the goldsmiths, whose business, up to that time, had been merely in plate and foreign coins. This new occupation was soon extended to the clandestine taking in of money left in the hands of merchants' clerks at about six per cent., and then lending it out again to necessitous traders at a high interest, discounting bills, and receiving rents of estates remitted to town, allowing some interest to all who let money lie in their hands for any time. This was found so great a convenience that many availed themselves of it, and thus the whole practice of modern banking gradually arose, even to the lending of money to government in advance of the revenue, although no regular bank, like those already existing in Amsterdam and some of the Italian states, was established in England during the present period.

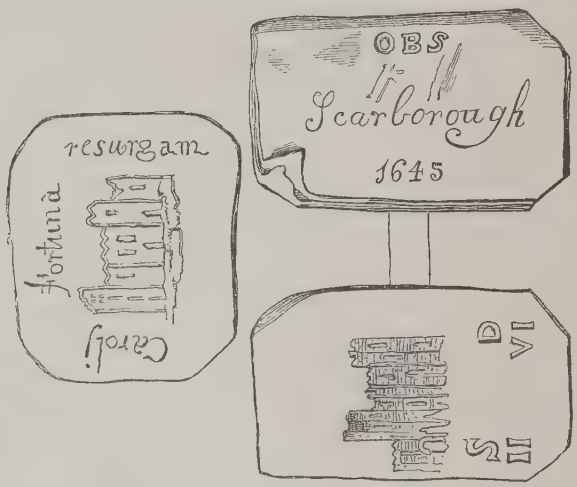
15. The fineness and weight of the silver currency was not altered, throughout this era, from the standard fixed in 1601, that is to say, the pound of mint silver still contained eighteen pennyweights of alloy, and was coined into sixty-two shillings. The first coinages of James I. are distinguished by the words ANG. SCO. (for England and Scotland), instead of MAG. BRIT., which were soon afterwards adopted. The value of the pound of gold in proportion to silver was gradually raised in his reign, owing to the great importations of silver from the mines of Peru and Mexico, from 33*l.* 10*s.* to 44*l.* The first English copper coinage now appeared, consisting of farthings, which were issued in 1613, the private tokens of lead and brass, formerly made and used by dealers in their payments, being at the same time abolished.

Under Charles I. there was an extraordinary scarcity of silver and abundance of gold, owing to the advance of the latter in price, and men would give two pence in the pound to get twenty shillings in silver in exchange for a sovereign. Several lead mines were tried for silver under this king, but the only productive ones were those of Aberystwith (which yielded at one time about 100 pounds a week), of Slaithborne, in Lancashire, of Barnstaple, in Devonshire, Court-Martin, in Cornwall, and Miggleswicke and Wardel, in Durham, the largest produce from any of which was ten per cent. of silver. The ore was tried by workmen brought over from Germany.

16. A new method of coining by machinery was invented, under Charles I., by Nicholas Briot, a Frenchman; but its advantages were lost to the king upon the breaking out of the wars, and his rude pieces coined at Shrewsbury, Oxford, York, and other places, seem often rather the work of a smith than a graver, and have evidently been coined in the greatest hurry and confusion. Various tokens were also used by the royalists, called siege pieces, shaped in different ways — lozenge-formed, octangular, and round, or even mere bits of silver, about an inch and a half long, with a rude representation of a castle stamped upon them.

The first coins of the parliament bore the usual impressions,

and only differed from those of the king by the letter P, for parliament, being employed as a mint mark. They afterwards coined gold and silver pieces having on the obverse an antique shield with St. George's cross, encircled by a palm and a



Siege Pieces.

laurel branch, and circumscribed The Commonwealth of England; on the reverse two antique shields conjoined, the first with the cross, the other with a harp, and circumscribed God with us. Their smaller coins have only the above arms, without any legend or inscription. The mint mark was a sun. Most of their money was hammered, as of old, but there are some silver coins of 1651 grained upon the outer edge, which is the earliest English silver coinage completely milled, the milled money of Elizabeth and Charles I. being only marked on the flat edge; two halfcrowns of this date have even words inscribed upon the rim. Some copper farthings of various impressions were likewise struck by the parliament.

The first money bearing the head of Cromwell has the date of 1656, though he did not formally undertake the royal authority till the following year. His coins were admirably executed by Simon, the pupil of Briot, the circumscription around the head being Olivar. d. g. r. p.

ANG. SCO. HIB. &c. PRO. On the reverse, under the royal crown, is a shield bearing in the first and fourth quarters St. George's cross, in the second, St. Andrew's cross, and in the third a harp, with the Protector's paternal arms (a lion rampant) on an escutcheon in the centre, and the circumscription, PAX QUÆRITUR BELLO, with the date 1656 or 1658. There is also a copper farthing of Cromwell's with CHARITIE AND CHANGE on the reverse. A few Pontefract coins or tokens were issued after the king's death in the name of Charles II.

17. The money of the Commonwealth was all called in after the Restoration, and a new gold and silver coinage immediately struck similar to that of Charles I. These first pieces were formed by hammering, Cromwell's minters having, it is supposed, withdrawn themselves and their machinery from fear of punishment; but, in 1662, milled money was again coined superior to any that had been yet produced, and with graining or letters on the rim. In this year the guinea was first struck, so called from its being made of gold brought from Guinea by the African Company. On all Charles II.'s English money coined after this date his head is turned to the left, which was the contrary direction to that of his father, and ever since it has been the rule to make two successive sovereigns look opposite ways on their respective coinages. Private halfpence and farthings of copper and brass had again come into use under the Commonwealth, and continued to circulate till after the Restoration, when they were supplanted by an issue of the same kind of money from the royal mint in 1672. In 1684 Charles coined farthings of tin, with only a bit of copper in the middle. On the copper coinage of this reign the figure of Britannia sitting on a globe, holding in her right hand an olive branch and in her left a spear and shield, appears for the first time, having been modelled, it is said, after the celebrated court beauty, Miss Stewart, afterwards Duchess of Richmond.

The money of James II. is of the same kind with that of his brother; his only farthings and halfpence being also of the like debased character with those struck by Charles in the last year of his reign. After his abdication he coined

money in Ireland out of old brass guns and kitchen utensils, and attempted to make it pass current as sterling silver. Afterwards even brass failed, and he was obliged to fabricate crowns, halfcrowns, shillings, and sixpences of pewter.

18. The growth of national activity and prosperity in this period is considerably indicated by the various improvements that were now introduced. The means of conveyance, for instance, were considerably increased; at first of course chiefly in and about the metropolis, where hackney coaches appeared for the first time in 1625; they were then only twenty in number, and did not ply in the streets, but were sent for to their stables by those who required them. Ten years after, however, they had become numerous enough to call forth a royal proclamation, which, after declaring that they were a great disturbance to the king and queen and their nobility in passing through the streets, that they broke up the pavements, and made the price of hay extremely great, concludes by prohibiting the use of any hired coach in London or Westminster, unless they are to travel at least three miles out of town. Two years later his majesty found out that these condemned vehicles might be of some little use, and he accordingly licensed fifty hackney coachmen for the capital (but each to keep no more than twelve horses), and so many in other cities and towns of the kingdom as might be deemed necessary, all others being strictly prohibited. In 1652 the number was raised to 200, and in 1654 to 300, the government and regulation of them being placed in the court of aldermen; and in 1662, 400 were licensed. Stage coaches were in 1673 tolerably numerous and cheap for some twenty or thirty miles round London, but on the long roads they were almost confined to the great Exeter, Chester, and York lines. The fare to any of those towns was 40*s.* in summer and 45*s.* in winter, besides the coachmen's gratuities. In 1634 sedan chairs were brought from the Continent by Sir Sanders Duncomb, to whom the king granted the sole privilege of letting them to use for the space of fourteen years.

19. The next year produced a more important mode of

communication, namely, a regular, though limited, system of internal posts. James I. had, indeed, established a post office for the conveyance of foreign letters, but, up to 1635, there had been no certain means of intercourse between England and Scotland. The postmaster for foreign parts was, therefore, ordered to settle a running post or two to run (*i.e.* ride on horseback) night and day between Edinburgh and London, going and coming in six days, and taking all letters directed to any post town in or near the main road; bye posts were at the same time fixed to carry letters to Lincoln, Hull, and other towns. A similar post was also appointed to Chester and Holyhead, and another to Exeter and Plymouth, and others were promised as soon as possible along the Oxford and Bristol, and the Colchester and Norwich roads. The rates of postage were fixed at 2*d.* the single letter for any distance under 80 miles; 4*d.* up to 140 miles; 6*d.* for any greater distance; and 8*d.* to any place in Scotland — which prices were continued after the Restoration. No other messengers or foot posts were to carry any letters, unless to places to which the king's posts did not go, with the exception of common known carriers, or messengers sent on a special purpose, or persons carrying a letter for a friend. This project, it is believed, was not fully carried into effect at the time, the original private contractor being found guilty of abuses in his office, for which he was superseded in 1640, and the post office taken under the immediate control of the state.

20. In 1652 the postage of letters in England was farmed out to John Manley, Esq. for 10,000*l.* a-year, and four years after it was thoroughly revised and placed upon a more stable footing than before. In 1663 the post office revenue was settled on the Duke of York and his heirs male, along with the produce of the wine licences; at this time the office of postmaster-general was farmed at a yearly rent of 21,500*l.*, thus indicating that the number of letters had been more than doubled in the interim. On the accession of James II. the post office revenue was calculated at 65,000*l.* per annum. Connected with this subject may be mentioned the first

erection of toll-gates, which is supposed to have been in 1663, under an act for repairing the highways within the counties of Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, where the roads were then in a very bad state and almost impassable. These early turnpikes were ordered to be placed at Wadesmill in Hertfordshire, Caxton in Cambridgeshire, and Stilton in Huntingdonshire.

21. The city of London continued to grow and spread with the advancing prosperity of the country, and the repeated proclamations of James and Charles I. forbidding (as Elizabeth had done before them) the further erection of new houses within three miles of the gates, or any idle visits of country folks to the capital (who were sometimes forcibly driven out, bag and baggage), are sufficient to show the rapid increase of population which *would* flow in notwithstanding all these royal efforts to prevent it. The union of the two crowns under James I. contributed also to unite the two cities of London and Westminster (which were once above a mile asunder, with broad green fields between), as the Scottish nobles and gentry came much to live about the court, and peopled by degrees the line of the Strand, which had before contained little but mud walls and thatched cottages. James did not greatly like this influx of his countrymen, however, and tried in vain to stop it, by threatening the skippers who brought them with fines and confiscation of their vessels. When that failed he sought in return to plant whole colonies of Londoners on the waste lands of Scotland, that he might at all events get rid of the surplus somehow. Some years after his accession we still find St. Giles-in-the-Fields spoken of as a separate town, and Drury Lane, which led from it to the Strand, was then merely a lane, and a very deep, dirty, and dangerous one too. Before the beginning of the civil wars, however, all that part of the present capital was joined to the rest of the town, chiefly, perhaps, through Covent (Convent) Garden having been handsomely laid out by Inigo Jones, and becoming a fashionable residence. The names of the older streets about that ancient haunt are taken from the royal

family of the day, such as James Street, King Street, Charles Street, Henrietta Street, &c.; others are of the date of Charles II., as Duke Street, York Street, Catherine Street, &c. To the latter period also belong Bloomsbury and the various streets at the Seven Dials, with Leicester Fields, and almost all St. James' and St. Anne's parishes (which were only separated in 1685, being previously included in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields), and great part of St. Martin's and St. Giles', with St. James Street, Pall Mall, the Haymarket, &c. Even some parts within the bars of the city remained unbuilt upon till the time of Charles I., as all the ground between Shoe Lane and Fetter or Fewters' Lane, so called from the number of Fewters (idle people) loitering about there to enjoy the open breeze.

The increase of population did not for a long time much increase the comforts of the capital. The houses of timber, or timber and brick, generally mean and ill built, still rose story over story along the narrow crooked streets till the light of day was almost quite shut out; the streets themselves were unpaved, damp, and dirty, even in dry weather, and in rainy almost knee-deep in mud; to this cause foreigners ascribed the constant coughing heard at every place of public intercourse, and the fearful consumption which seemed to be a national disease. The accumulated filth was so excessive that kites and ravens were cherished for its destruction, and bonfires were frequently lighted to avert a visit of the plague. After the fire of 1666, however, the streets were built much straighter and wider, with good brick houses, separated by thick party walls, instead of the old and dangerous tenements of wood. The new buildings now spread rapidly in every direction, notwithstanding the last faint exercise of the royal prerogative to restrain them in 1674. In 1687 Sir William Petty estimated the population of London at 696,000, founding his calculation upon the number of burials within the bills of mortality (the annual average of which he makes to be 23,212), and on the assumption that one person in every thirty died in the course of the year. Ten years later Gregory King, calculating from the

number of houses as ascertained by the hearth-money returns, reckons the population at only 530,000; but probably the one estimate is as much too low as the other may be too high.

An important metropolitan improvement was the cutting of the New River in 1609 by Sir Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith of London, by which the greater part of the metropolis is still supplied with water.*

22. The practice of publishing a price-current for the use of the commercial world had been long known abroad before it was introduced into London, which was in 1634, when a certain broker was allowed the sole privilege of vending one for fourteen years to come. The first regular Board of Trade appears to have been established in 1668, under the name of the Council of Commerce, consisting of a president, vice-president, and nine other members, all with regular salaries. It remained in existence, however, only for a few years, the expense, probably, being found inconvenient.

23. Down to the accession of Charles II. few improvements of consequence had taken place in the art of cultivating the ground; some instructions, indeed, we had received from our Dutch neighbours, particularly in the draining of fens and reclaiming land from the sea, and several new seeds had been introduced and novel practices of husbandry; but they made

* Other towns had also shared by this time in the general prosperity, and early in the century were already growing up to something like their present magnitude. Thus Plymouth had sprung from a mere fishing village into a small town, as also had Poole in Dorsetshire. Portsmouth was very populous in time of war, but not so much so in peace; and Lynn, in Norfolk, though of comparatively recent origin, was "beyond dispute the best town" in its own county, Norwich having considerably declined from its ancient greatness. Birmingham, or Bromicham, is represented as "swarming with inhabitants and echoing with the noise of anvils." Halifax had risen on the cloth trade, notwithstanding its barren soil, to 12,000 inhabitants, rich and well to do. Hull, though of no great antiquity, and the older Beverley, were celebrated for their trade, and Rochdale, Preston, Bury, and, above all, Manchester, were eminent in Lancashire. Liverpool, however, though populous and neat, is chiefly mentioned as the most convenient place for setting sail to Ireland. Newcastle had become the glory of Northumberland, carrying on a great trade in coal, as well with the Continent as with other parts of England.

slow progress in a country where every one was content to follow the usages of his forefathers, and where those usages varied in every county and almost in every parish. Several works were published, however, before the Restoration, in which sound practical recommendations were given, such as the growing of clover and cultivation of turnips for the winter feed of cattle, as practised in Flanders.

Some alterations were made in the corn duties under James I.; but in 1660 an entirely new scale was introduced. When the price of wheat was under 44*s.* per quarter the export duty was 5*s.* 6*d.*, if above 44*s.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and exportation was permitted free whenever it did not exceed 40*s.* per quarter. The demand at home was not found, however, to be always sufficient for the supply, and accordingly, for the encouragement of the farmer, the export duty was somewhat reduced in 1663, and still farther in 1670; foreign corn being at the same time loaded with a prohibitory duty. Harvests were abundant throughout a great part of the 17th century, of which the poor found the benefit, and were even saucy enough at times, as the writers of the day complain, to use none but the finest wheat bread. The crops proved defective, however, from 1673 to 1678, the consequence of which was a considerable extension of tillage and rise in the price of wheat. These years of scarcity were followed by twelve others of abundance, during which wheat sank as low as 27*s.* 7*d.*, a price which effectually precluded any competition on the part of the foreign corn grower. The agriculturists were, nevertheless, very much depressed, which they sought to relieve by procuring a bounty on the exportation of corn. In 1670 a new mode was established of striking the corn averages, namely, by the justices of the peace at the quarter sessions, upon the oaths of two persons duly qualified and not being corn dealers, or by such other means as they should see fit; the consequent statement of the market price, duly certified on oath, was to be hung up in some public place, and also sent to the chief custom-house officer in each district.

The current price of land in 1621 was no more than 12 years'

purchase; in 1666 it was 14 or 16, and afterwards it rose to 17 or 18, and in the best districts even to 26 and 27 years' purchase. Dr. Davenant, who wrote in 1698, calculates that the whole land of England, at 12 years' purchase, was only worth 72,000,000*l.* in 1600, whilst in 1688, at 18 years, it was worth 252,000,000*l.*, or 3½ times as much as before.

The art of gardening made a greater progress than that of agriculture, and the trim walks of the old parterres were enlivened with a number of plants and flowers hitherto unknown in England. Vegetables for the table were planted for the first time at the commencement of this period, and were for a long time but partially raised; by the middle of the century, however, cabbage and cauliflowers, turnips, carrots, parsnips, and early peas were pretty generally known, with liquorice, saffron, cherries, apples, pears, and some other fruits, but onions were still very deficient. Nurseries for young fruit trees were as yet unknown, so that those who wished for a new variety in their gardens were often obliged to send nearly 100 miles for it; but several persons now devoted themselves with great zeal to this pursuit, and the elder Tradescant in particular entered himself on board a privateer, fitted out against Morocco, solely with a design of stealing apricots into Britain, in which he appears to have succeeded. To his family, indeed, "grandsire, father, son," the gardens of England are deeply indebted.

24. The condition of the labouring classes now began to improve in every respect, and the increase of their numbers went on in a proportionate degree. At the death of Elizabeth the entire population of England and Wales did not, perhaps, much exceed 5,000,000; but at the Restoration it had grown to about 6,500,000, an estimate which may be considerably increased by the close of the period; some derangement would no doubt be experienced during the civil wars, but it was amply made up by the general advance after their termination. Down to that date the wages of a farm-bailiff in the county of Rutland were set down at 52*s.* a year; of a farm-servant of the best sort, 50*s.*; of a common ditto, 40*s.* Mowers had 5*d.* a-day, with their meat, and reapers 4*d.*, or

double without; every other labourer had 3*d.* with meat, or 7*d.* without, from Easter till Michaelmas; and from Michaelmas to Easter 2*d.*, or 6*d.* Master carpenters had 1*s.* 2*d.*, and masons 1*s.*; gardeners, 1*s.*; and tailors, 8*d.*; all these without meat. In 1661 the rates fixed by the justices in the county of Essex raised the common labourer to 8*d.* with meat, or 1*s.* 2*d.* without, for one half the year; and 6*d.* or 1*s.* for the other; mowers had 10*d.* or 1*s.* 6*d.*, and reapers 1*s.* or 1*s.* 10*d.* The yearly wages of a bailiff were to be 6*l.*; of a chief husbandman, or carter, 5*l.*; and of a common farm-servant, 3*l.* 10*s.* These wages, however, being arbitrarily settled by the magistrates, varied considerably in various counties and different years.

25. Pauperism was as yet but imperfectly relieved by the acts founded upon the 43d of Elizabeth. In many places, it is said, no rates were made for twenty, thirty, or forty years after the passing of that act, and in most cases the sums raised were so inadequate that numbers of persons were left to perish for want. A great increase of beggars was also occasioned, in 1630, by the disbanding of the Irish army, and afterwards by the civil wars. Houses of correction were accordingly built, and severe statutes enacted against disorderly persons, but probably with no better effect than before. The same state of things continued till after the Restoration, when the foundation of the modern law of settlement was laid by the 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 12., which, in fact, reduced the great body of the labouring population pretty much to their old condition of *ascripti glebæ*, or fixtures on the soil of the parish. By this act it was provided that any two justices of the peace, upon complaint made by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, might, within forty days after the arrival of any stranger in the parish, remove him by force to the parish where he was last legally settled (either as a native, householder, sojourner, apprentice, or servant), unless he either rented a tenement of 10*l.* a-year, or could give sufficient security against his becoming burdensome to the parish. By a subsequent act the forty days' residence was reckoned from the time when he gave in a notice in writing

of his abode and number of family, to one of the churchwardens or overseers, so as to prevent clandestine residences. During the full operation of this law (which lasted till 1795) a poor man's parish was, in fact, or might be made, his prison. The old modes of acquiring a settlement were considerably extended, however, by these and subsequent statutes.

The earliest information on the amount of the poor-rates is in 1673, when they are estimated by an anonymous writer at nearly 840,000*l.* a-year. A more trustworthy account, perhaps, is that of Davenant, in 1695, who makes the total for England and Wales 665,362*l.* Complaints were not unfrequently made of the injurious effects upon industry of this provision for the poor, and various schemes for their profitable employment were occasionally broached by several benevolent persons.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

1. DURING the 17th century the furniture of mansions assumed a style of splendour and comfort hardly surpassed even in the present day, and of which numerous specimens yet remain. Beds, as usual, were particularly rich, and cloth of gold and silver, gold and silk fringes and lace, crimson velvet, damask and satin, were largely bestowed on their hangings and garniture. Paper and leather hangings for the walls were invented early in the century, and the rooms of the great were adorned with the noblest specimens of ancient and modern art. Ornaments of chinaware had been brought from Italy in the time of Elizabeth; but by the year 1631 they were regularly imported by the East India ships. Even the middling classes had now their Turkey and Persian carpets to cover the tables, the floors being still universally spread with matting or rushes, excepting in throne or bedrooms, where small carpets were laid down as a distinguished honour.

The costume of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign continued for some time after the accession of James I. The king, however, had all his clothes made still larger, and thickly quilted, through fear of assassination, the breeches being worked in particularly huge plaits, and enormously stuffed; afterwards they were worn in round full plaits, ending half way down the thigh. The hats were high and conical, with broad flapping brims, decorated with rich bands, jewels, and feathers. Silk and thread stockings were now generally worn by the gentry, those of woollen cloth having gone quite out of fashion. Short jackets or doublets, with false sleeves, were worn towards the end of this reign, and the ruff was succeeded by the

band and collar, or peccadilloe, from a noted shop for the sale of which Piccadilly is said to take its name. The bands and ruffs were for some time stiffened with yellow starch, said to

Costume — temp. James I. (From a Print of the Period.)

have been brought from France by a Mrs. Turner; but when that lady was executed (for the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury) with one of her own ruffs on, the fashion was dropped. Ladies of rank still wore the huge fardingale and ruff, but they were gradually superseded by the more elegant band and skirts, which were not unlike those of the present day.

2. The costume of Charles I., that most exquisite period of English dress, has been made familiar to us by the numerous prints of the monarch and of other distinguished personages of the day. At first, however, some of the old fashions remained, and Charles himself is occasionally represented in long pudding-bag breeches, pinned up, a dress which was borrowed from Holland. A more elegant sort of these long breeches hang loose below the knee, fringed, or with a row of points meeting the wide tops of the boots, which were ruffled with lace or lawn, and made with very high heels, and sometimes with a false sole. The beautiful Vandyke dress consisted of a short

doublet of silk or satin, with slashed sleeves, a falling collar of rich point lace, a short cloak, worn carelessly over one shoulder, and a broad-leafed Flemish beaver hat, with one or more feathers hanging gracefully from it; and a very broad and richly embroidered sword-belt, in which usually hung a Spanish rapier. Occasionally the silk doublet was exchanged for a buff coat, reaching half way down the thigh, with or without sleeves, and sometimes laced with gold or silver. In this case the cloak was replaced by a scarf of silk or satin, worn round the waist or over the shoulder, and tied in a large bow behind or on the hip. Over this coat the steel gorget, or a breast and back plate, was placed, and then the wearer, with the addition of a headpiece, was equipped for battle.

Cavalier in Buff, and Puritan. (From the Meyrick Collection and Jeffrey's Dresses.)

The cavaliers (a term introduced from Spain under James I.) wore their hair in long ringlets, while the round-heads were so called from their close-cropped polls; but both wore the mustache and peaked beard. The Puritans also avoided silks and satins, wearing cloths and stuffs of coarser

material and more sober colours, and the old high-crowned black hat instead of the low Flemish beaver. Similar distinctions were adopted by the ladies on either side; the royalists wearing ringlets and feathers, while the Puritan dames covered the head closely, with hood, cap, coif, or high-crowned hat.

Countrywoman with Muffles, and Lady of Quality — temp. Charles I. (From Speed's Map of England and Hollar's Ornatus Muliebris.)

Masks were much used by ladies of the higher ranks, and mufflers by elderly women of lower station. Muffs of fur, and elegant fans of ostrich feathers, were also carried by women of fashion.

3. The chief amusements of James I. and his court were masques and emblematic pageants, which were chiefly composed by the great dramatic writer, Ben Jonson. The audience, however, probably insisted upon many introductions which the good taste of the composer would have rejected, for the most ridiculous scenes and figures constantly occur. In the succeeding reign, however, these absurdities were all banished, and the fine taste of Charles, aided by the lively wit of Buckingham, and the accomplishments of Jonson, Lawes the musician, Inigo Jones, and Gerbier, the painter, the bosom friend of Rubens, produced the most

splendid and exquisite entertainments. The Masque was composed of dialogue, singing, and dancing, combined, on the basis of some ingenious fable, into a regular and harmonious whole. Its very essence was pomp and glory; moveable scenery of the most costly kind was provided, all the vocal and instrumental excellence of the kingdom summoned to its aid, and the characters were performed by the noblest in the land. It was got up at prodigious expense, often costing from one to five thousand pounds; and one, in particular, presented at Whitehall by the Inns of Court, in 1633, is said to have amounted to the enormous sum of 21,000*l.*

In the masque of "The Night and the Hours," the first scene introduced a double valley, one side with dark clouds hanging before it, on the other a green vale, with trees, nine of which were covered with gold and were fifteen feet high. From this grove towards the "State," or seat of the king, extended a dancing place, with the bower of Flora on the right, the house of Night on the left; between them a hill, hanging like a cliff over the grove. The bower of Flora was spacious, garnished with flowers and leafy branches, with frequent lights sparkling between; the house of Night ample and stately, with black columns studded with golden constellations; within was nothing but clouds and twinkling stars, while about it were placed, on wires, artificial bats and owls, continually moving. Night appears in her house, her long black hair spangled with gold, amidst her Hours, their faces black, and each bearing a lighted black torch.

In the Lords' masque, upon another occasion, the scene was divided into two parts, the lower being first discovered, in which there appeared a wood in perspective, on the left a cave and on the right a thicket, from which issued Orpheus. At the back of the scene, on the sudden fall of a curtain, the upper part appeared a heaven of clouds of all hues; then the stars suddenly vanished, the clouds dispersed, artificial fire played about the house of Prometheus, with a bright and transparent cloud, reaching from the heavens to the earth, whence eight maskers descended, with the music of a full song. On their reaching the ground the cloud broke in twain, and one

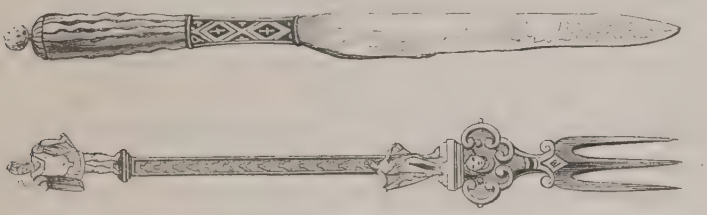
part of it, as with a wind, was blown athwart the scene. While it was disappearing, the wood insensibly changed; a perspective view opened, with porticoes on each side, and female statues of silver, filling the end of Prometheus' house, which descended from their niches, and moved about, till the anger of Jupiter turned them into statues again. With these gorgeous entertainments was usually presented the Anti-masque, a humorous parody of the more solemn show. To the prevalence of this species of exhibition we owe Milton's beautiful compositions of Comus and Arcades.

4. The last links of feudalism were now broken for ever, and the noblest and wealthiest could no longer exercise arbitrary sway over a troop of obedient vassals; but some pomp was still maintained in their domestic establishments, one of the largest of which (the Lord Treasurer Dorset's) contained no less than 220 servants, besides workmen and occasional attendants. The younger sons of respectable families still attached themselves in this way to the most powerful patrons, and served them at court or in war, for which they were allowed separate retinues of men and horses, with gratuities in money, and promises of promotion. Nay, the spendthrift gentleman often sank into the common serving man, and stood with his fellows in St. Paul's Walk, holding up a placard stating his qualifications and desire of employment. A company of actors and a band of musicians sometimes took the place of the old jugglers and tumblers in a nobleman's mansion, and were styled his servants. A grave steward in a velvet dress and gold chain presided over the motley household, and a special clerk regulated the affairs of the kitchen. With the growth of real comforts, however, and the many new modes of spending money, these cumbrous appendages gradually disappeared, and many a gallant and a courtier contented himself with a single page, who walked behind him, carrying his cloak and rapier.

5. Dress, indeed, must have swallowed up almost everything at a time when James and his courtiers set the fashion of appearing in a new garb almost every day. When the Duke of Buckingham was sent to France to bring over Henrietta

Maria, he provided, amongst others, one suit of white uncut velvet, and a cloak set all over with diamonds, valued at 80,000*l.*; besides a feather made of great diamonds, and sword, girdle, hatband, and spurs, thick set with the same. Another suit of purple satin, embroidered all over with pearls, was valued at 20,000*l.* At the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palatine, Lady Wotton wore a gown profusely ornamented with embroidery that cost 50*l.* a yard; and Lord Montague spent 1500*l.* on the dresses of his two daughters for the same occasion. By this account it would seem that the ladies were, at all events, not more expensive in their attire than the gentlemen.

Feasting, too, was carried to a riotous excess, and the household expenditure of James I. was twice as much as that of Queen Elizabeth, amounting, indeed, to 100,000*l.* a year.



Silver Fork and Girdle Knife, A. D. 1610.

Their cookery was not, however, very refined, the most horrible compounds being used, with snails and legs of frogs dressed in a variety of ways. At a feast in 1661 four huge pigs were brought up, bitted and harnessed with ropes of sausages, and all tied together to a monstrous bag-pudding. A great variety of wines and an immoderate style of drinking still prevailed, which was not a little increased by the example of the Danish king and his courtiers upon their visit to England, under James I. The Danish custom of drinking healths was also scrupulously observed, and in a company even of twenty or thirty, every person's health was required to be drunk in rotation; sometimes a lady or an absent patron was toasted on the knees, and, as a proof of love or loyalty, the pledger's blood was even mingled with the wine.

The high price of good liquor had the effect, however, of making the poor more temperate than before. Under the Commonwealth greater moderation, as well as simplicity, prevailed, and Cromwell's table was particularly plain. The civic feasts, too, were at that time very orderly and decorous, without the old overflowing healths or boisterous cordiality.

6. At the commencement of this period the country knight or squire still lived in his huge mansion, half house, half castle, crowded with servants in homespun blue coats, one half of them for ever in the others' way; but then they were born in his worship's service, and so, as a matter of course, they expected to live and die in it. Daybreak roused all the family, who assembled to prayers, which were read by the family chaplain. Then came a mighty breakfast, after which the master of the house and his sons got into the saddle and rode off with their attendants to hunt the deer after their leisurely fashion, or administered justice to the country folks, whilst the lady and her daughters superintended the dairy and buttery, gave out the day's task for the spinning-wheels, and the bread and meat to the poor at the gate, or made up all manner of medicines for their sickly neighbours, and confections and preserves for their healthy selves. Then came spinning and sewing, or the embroidery of some everlasting piece of work, sufficient to employ several generations. At noon dinner was served in the great hall, whose walls were hung with stags' horns, casques, brands and calivers, or still older bows, the bell which summoned the family, proclaiming, also, a general invitation to all within hearing; after dinner sack and home-brewed October filled up the time till sunset, when all retired to an early repose. When the weather prevented their going out of doors, a variety of games, or the huge folios of Froissart, Hall, or Holinshed, with the lighter Gestes of Robin Hood, and the Seven Champions of Christendom, or the graver studies of the old blackletter Bible, and Fox's Acts and Monuments, helped to pass away the weary hours.

7. In such a life, so monotonous and unexciting, the return of the great holidays was an extraordinary event, and between preparations and recollections might well fill up a long month

of unusual happiness. Then did the lord of the manor assume almost regal state, as he marched forth with all his family to witness the sports and bestow the prizes of his elated tenantry, or sat at the head of his old hall, whilst the merry pipes and fiddles set the whole crowd of his dependants in joyous motion, and the ox roasted whole, with its accompanying cask of potent ale, renewed their fading vigour at the door. But these primitive habits did not long survive the accession of James I., when the novel pleasures and gaieties of a town life drew the squires rapidly from the country, despite all proclamations to the contrary, and as rapidly did their ancient estates melt away, sometimes even the names of the owners being obliterated for ever. Gambling, too, added its fatal snares, and, as the age was not remarkable for honour in any way, loaded dice and all the tricks of the table were constantly resorted to by the more knowing hands.

8. Education amongst the better classes was confined a good deal to Latin and Greek, and the discipline of teachers, both public and private, was still extremely harsh and severe, it being the highest recommendation to be a "learned and lashing master!" The boys indemnified themselves, however, at "barring-out time," when the schoolmaster lost all his authority for a space, and was forcibly excluded from his own schoolroom. In some of the public schools plays were performed before large audiences, and in others there were annual competitions in athletic sports, as at Harrow, where the boys shot with the bow for a silver arrow. The Eton Montem (which probably arose out of the festival of the boy bishop) was practised as early as the reign of Elizabeth, and consisted, as now, of a captain and his officers, who marched with the school in military procession to Salt Hill, shouting "Salt! Salt!" and receiving money from the spectators, for which they bestowed salt in return. Salt being an ancient emblem of great wit, it was largely used also at the jocular initiation of freshmen in their respective colleges, where they were stripped of their gowns and bands by the senior students, and in a vile dress obliged to declaim from a form placed upon a table. Those who spoke well got caudle out of a huge pot that stood on the fire before

them, but those who gave less satisfaction had it mixed with salt, or were drenched with salted beer, and pinched severely on the chin.

The dissoluteness of the students, both at Oxford and Cambridge, is often complained of, and, as might be expected, they were much divided by the theological and political disputes of the day. Youths were trained, also, in active exercises, particularly of a military character, so that at the breaking out of the civil wars most gentlemen were ready at once for service. The tour of the Continent was also thought necessary for the young aristocracy; but great pains were taken to prevent them from remaining long in cities where popery and jesuitism predominated.

9. Female education seems to have unfortunately gone back during this era, and the manners of the English ladies are described as singularly coarse and low, common taverns being no uncommon place of resort, and desperate gambling their frequent amusement. Dress, however, was most carefully attended to, it being as tedious, it was declared, to attire a fine lady as to rig a ship of war. The hair was particularly complicated between false and true, endless ringlets, and loads of jewellery. Then there were patches to be disposed on the face, lotions and ointments to be applied, and, perhaps, a coat of paint delicately laid on, a practice which did not go entirely out even under the Jezebel-hating Commonwealth. The gentlemen, on the other hand, scented, painted, and adorned themselves with no less nicety and care, and carried orangeade and comfits about with them for the refreshment of their dainty palates. Others affected a rough sort of military dandyism, patched their faces to look like scars, swaggered about with monstrous swords, or even hung their unwounded arms in an ostentatious sling.

10. Merchants and tradesmen were now a prosperous and important race, but were still regarded with affected disdain by the haughty nobility, who borrowed their money and elbowed them from the wall at the same time. The shops of that day were little booths or cellars, generally without doors or windows, in front of which the owner or his 'prentice paced up and

down, calling out incessantly, "What d'ye lack, sir? what d'ye lack?" with a loud list of the medley articles in which he dealt. The houses of the principal merchants were, however, splendidly furnished, and even rivalled the palace of the nobleman. Only the chief merchants were allowed to prefix "Master" to their name, and "Worshipful" was the highest title to which any could aspire; had they ventured upon "Gentleman" or "Esquire" the whole court would have risen in arms against their monstrous presumption. In the streets at night, courtiers were lighted with torches, merchants and lawyers with links, and mechanics with humble lanthorns. The mayoralty was the great prize of city ambition, and eagerly was it regarded by the thriving and advancing tradesman.

11. The "London 'prentice bold" was a great plague in those days, for being of a reckless temper and closely united with all his fellows, he was at the head of every riot and squabble in the metropolis. If a bull were to be baited, or a play hissed down, an infamous person to be carted through the streets with the rude music of pans, kettles, and keys, or a scold to be solemnly ducked at the cucking-stool, the 'prentices were all in a muster, and the slightest offence offered to any of the fraternity was sufficient to raise the cry of "'prentices! 'prentices! clubs! clubs!" which rang forthwith through the city, and was responded to in every quarter. In vain did the city-guard oppose their ancient bills and partisans, and even the military could hardly repress their reckless violence. Foreigners were particular objects of their hatred, and with the hot young Templars they were at constant feud.

12. A more dangerous roamer of the streets was the rogue and "masterless man," whose audacity was at one time so great that Elizabeth herself, while taking an airing in her coach near Islington, was once surrounded by so formidable a troop that she was obliged to send a footman to the mayor and recorder for help. Fleetwood, the recorder, a very active magistrate, caught seventy-four of them by next morning, some of whom are described as "*blind*, and

yet great usurers, and very rich." Of cheats, or coney-catchers, as they were called, under the same queen, there are estimated to have been in all parts of the kingdom not less than 10,000. Under James and Charles I. they seem to have increased in numbers, and to have organised themselves into a regular profession, with a peculiar language and systematic training for their younger members.* Ring-dropping and all the other tricks of the present day were already practised upon the country bumpkins, who in a hapless hour visited the great haunt of men. Another set went about with sweetmeats to allure children, whom they stripped and sent off to the plantations to be sold for slaves.

13. The highways were equally infested by the bolder robbers, who, in bands mustering from ten to forty men, armed with long spiked poles, bows and arrows, guns and pistols, and disguised with vizors, false beards and wigs, and even false tails to their horses, scoured the country and made it often positively unsafe to travel, except in numbers and well armed. These desperados were joined by many a gay Cavalier after the ruin of the royal cause, who satisfied his conscience by abstaining from all of his own party and robbing only his natural foe, the triumphant Roundhead. The English robbers were at this time distinguished above those of other countries for their humanity, seldom inflicting wounds or death save in the case of obstinate resistance.

14. A very suspicious set of characters were also to be found in the Jesuits or seminary priests, who were obliged to assume a variety of shapes, to escape detection and punishment for remaining in the kingdom. Sometimes they appeared in the extreme of the fashion, and sometimes outrivalled the strictest Puritan in plainness of dress and fervour

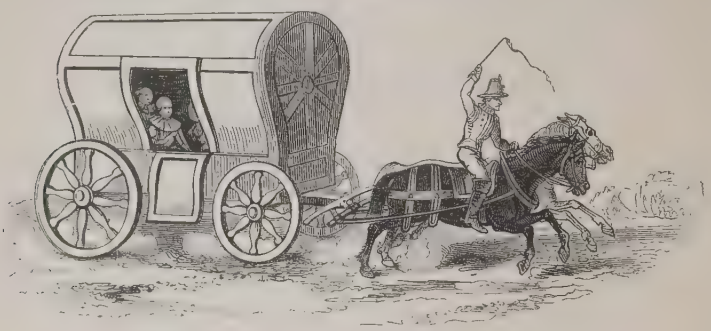
* One of their lessons (said to be still practised in the metropolis) was to hang a pocket from the ceiling with small bells all round it, which the young scholar was to pick without making any alarm. Purses were in those days worn on the outside of the dress suspended by a string, hence they were easily cut off by the cut-purse, who used instruments of the finest steel for the purpose, made by the best workmen of Italy. Many of the tricks of these worthies are alluded to in the curious and rare pamphlets by Robert Greene.

of spiritual discourse. This latter was, indeed, a favourite trick, one great object being to drive the nation into all kinds of religious extravagance in the hope that the reaction might bring about a return to Rome. A more harmless but quite as impudent a set of rogues were the literary scribblers, who went about the country with some wretched pamphlet, headed by an epistle dedicatory, to which they professed to affix the name of any gentleman on whom they called, receiving in return a present of three or four angels from the gratified patron. When diurnals or newspapers commenced, these fellows made good gain by selling their services to one or both parties, or to some individual, whose marvellous acts they specially lied forth after their fashion.

15. People of rank and fashion in this era lived in the Strand, Drury Lane, and the neighbourhood of Covent Garden; merchants resided between Temple Bar and the Exchange; bullies, ruined gamesters, and criminals of all grades huddled together in Alsatia, (or Whitefriars,) by the Temple, which still possessed the right of sanctuary, and whose avenues were guarded by scouts, who proclaimed the approach of danger by the sound of a horn. The narrow lanes branching from Cannon Street towards the river were crowded with proscribed conventicles. Leukner's Lane and its neighbourhood were the haunts of the profligate, and the "devilish Ranters" held forth in Whitechapel and Charterhouse Lane. Hyde Park and Spring Garden were pleasant places to walk in, though the former was restricted under the Commonwealth by a tax of 1*s.* for every coach, and 6*d.* for horses; whilst the latter, on account of its improper uses, was entirely shut up. But the great centre of recourse was the middle aisle of St. Paul's, where, from eleven to twelve at noon and from three to six in the evening, lords, merchants, and men of all professions — the fashionable, the busy, and the idle — met and mingled together in familiar talk, or listened to the prognostications of the busy politicians, who relieved themselves there of their little budget of most important news.

16. The streets were by no means such pleasant promenades,

for, besides their dirty and crowded state, bulls and bears for baiting were often driven through them, and rows were of constant occurrence. If a coach were called, the mob, who



Hackney Coach. (Old Print.)

hated those conveyances, and called them "hell carts," might take it into their head to upset it, passenger and all, in the kennel, and everything aristocratic in appearance was sure, after the commencement of the wars, to meet with the roughest treatment. At night the lurking ruffians of all sorts came forth and committed all manner of depredations, so that it was quite unsafe to walk out after nine o'clock; desperate men, also, who had plunged themselves into deep debt, banded together against the law, under the name of Roaring Boys or Privados, who naturally chose the night for their excursions, and held frequent battles with the sheriff's officer and the city watch. At Christmas all these rabblements were swelled by the revels of the season, especially those of the Lord of Misrule from the inns of court, which riotous chieftain in the end became too troublesome for the peace of the city, and being taken prisoner by the lord mayor's own hand, probably put a stop to the sport.

17. Popular sports and games were less pursued now than formerly, from the various changes in the mode of living. James I., indeed, delighted in hawking, which kept that sport in a little longer. His son Henry and most of the courtiers spent much time in tennis and the new game of pall-mall, which consisted in striking a ball through a loop at some distance from the ground. Billiards were

also growing very fashionable, but the old rough sports of bull and bear-baiting and cock-fighting remained for the stern hand of Cromwell and his officers to put down. In order to encourage the people in their games and vex the Presbyterians, who had annoyed him by their rigid observance of the Sabbath, James put forth a Book of Sports allowable to be used on Sundays after prayers and holidays, which was read throughout the parish churches of the kingdom, and was afterwards revived by Charles I. under the advice of Laud. The common games of the populace were dancing, leaping, vaulting, archery, May-games and poles, Whitsun-ales, morice dances, and the decoration of churches on feast days with rushes and branches. These were permitted, and even enjoined on all church folks after divine service, but baitings, interludes, and bowling were forbidden on Sundays. Horse-racing was now very much extended, and the breed of horses greatly improved in consequence; furious riding and driving were reckoned, indeed, among the characteristics of an Englishman. The amusements of the citizens chiefly consisted in bowling, cards and dice, billiards, musical entertainments, dancing, masques, balls, plays, and club meetings. The lord mayor kept a pack of hounds, which had the privilege of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Kent. The lower classes of Londoners enjoyed themselves with foot ball, wrestling, cudgel playing, nine pins, shovel board, cricket, quoits, bell-ringing, pitching the bar, cock-throwing, and bull and bear-baiting.

18. Furniture began to assume a still more magnificent character, at least in point of ornament, after the Restoration, the splendid carved and gilt articles of the Louis Quatorze style having come into use towards the close of the century, although it was not general till the reign of Queen Anne. The famous Gobelin tapestry, also, the manufacture of which was established in France in 1677, soon appeared upon our walls, and the new invention of oil-cloth introduced a better material for the covering of floors than the old surface of matting or rushes. Chairs remained much the same in shape as before, but cane was now occasionally used in both their

backs and seats. Tables, cabinets, wardrobes, &c. now began to exhibit that beautiful style of workmanship still known by the name of Marqueterie, from its originator M. Marquet.

In costume citizens' wives and countrywomen continued to wear the high-crowned hat, the French hood, laced stomacher, and yellow starched handkerchief; but amongst ladies of rank and station a total change took place, and bare necks and arms, full and flowing draperies, and long trains of the richest satins and velvets, superseded the high and straight-laced dresses of former times. Face painting was also commonly used, with patches, and the hair frizzed up or perukes worn, which the ladies seem to have been the first to introduce. Masks and riding habits, which in the upper part exactly resembled male attire, were also much worn, and the French sacque now first began to appear, with some other fashions, which flourished more extensively in the following century.

19. In 1659 an English gentleman dressed in a short-waisted doublet and petticoat breeches, the lining (being lower than the breeches) tied above the knees, the breeches themselves ornamented with ribands up to the pocket and for half their breadth upon the thigh, the waistband also set out with ribands and the shirt hanging over it. The hat was high-crowned and with a plume of feathers, afterwards low-crowned and the feathers laid upon the brim; beneath the knee hung long drooping lace ruffles, and a rich falling collar of lace, with a cloak, hung carelessly over the shoulders. The shoes were worn high in the heels and tied with ribands. Periwigs were introduced from the court of Louis XIV. in 1664, no natural head of hair being sufficiently luxuriant for the taste of the times.

The first great change was in 1666, when the king began to wear a long close vest almost to the feet, of black cloth or velvet pinked with white satin, a loose surcoat or tunic over it, of an Oriental character, and tied round the body with a sash, and instead of shoes and stockings, buskins or brodequins. This fashion did not continue, however, more than two years, Louis and his courtiers having con-

temptuously put their servants into it; but to the vest so formed we probably owe the long square-cut coat, and to

Costume — temp. Charles II. (Old Print.)

Costume — temp. James II. (Old Print.)

the tunic the almost equally long waistcoat which succeeded them. The sleeves of this coat came only to the elbows,

where they were turned back in a large cuff, the shirt bulging out from beneath, ruffled at the wrist, and profusely adorned with ribands; both coat and waistcoat had buttons and button-holes all down the front. A neckcloth or cravat of Brussels' lace tied with ribands under the chin, the ends hanging down square, took the place of the stiff band and falling collar, and the broad hat, which was turned up or cocked behind, was sometimes entirely surrounded by short feathers, which fell curling over the brim. Round hats with very small brims, ornamented with cockades or favours, something like the jockey cap now worn by the state trumpeters, also appear. Small buckles instead of shoe strings were worn by Charles II. in 1666, but came into general use only in the reign of Queen Anne. These fashions continued with little variation under James II. The hat-brims were frequently turned up on both sides, and particular cocks were adopted according to taste or circumstances.

20. The Puritans had affected a singular plainness of dress and gravity of manners, with a drawling and snuffling tone, and everlasting quotations from Scripture, whilst the cavaliers went into the contrary extreme of lightness and profanity, which, unfortunately, became but too prevalent after the Restoration. The nation was, indeed, in 1660, heartily tired of the gloom and severity of the Commonwealth, and broke out in one general burst of loyal joyousness, with bonfires, may-poles, bell-ringing, dances, and an unlimited flow of potent liquors. It was to Charles, however, and his French-ified court that the great increase of debauchery was owing, and under his profligate rule every good old English virtue was set aside, and the coarsest licentiousness took possession of all public places. Swearing, gambling, and the most blasphemous jests, were now the marks of a thorough-bred courtier, with a total disregard of all noble feeling, and even of the natural pride of birth and connexions.

Politics had now become a matter of universal discussion, and clubs and coffeehouses afforded men of every condition an opportunity of settling the affairs of state, much to the annoyance of the old aristocracy. The most remarkable of

these institutions was the King's Head Club, composed of friends of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who were especially eager in maintaining the Protestant religion, and burning the Pope and the King of France in effigy.

21. The streets were by no means quiet or orderly at this period, for, besides the quarrels of precedence between the foreign ambassadors (which were not always conducted without bloodshed) and the attacks of the mob upon unpopular strangers, the 'prentices were as turbulent as ever, and the butchers and weavers added to the fray by their constant and furious encounters. At the bear gardens sword-fighting was added to the amusements, and the spectators sometimes contended so fiercely about the merits of the performers, that a general battle arose. To crown all, the gentlemen Scowerers swept the streets by nights, broke windows, stormed taverns, thrashed innocent passengers, and fought with the watch till they were overpowered and lodged in the watch-house, where they did not always meet with a sufficiently severe punishment. With all this brutality, nevertheless, was united an extreme foppery in dress, manners, and conversation.

Coach — temp. Charles II. (Old Print.)

22. The bulk of the people were, however, mostly free from these vices, and even in the metropolis kept up a good deal of the true old English spirit and fashions. In the country the plain manners and cookery of former days still prevailed, and the ancient good feeling between landlord and tenant was carefully preserved.

Music was now generally studied, and play-going had become even a badge of loyalty; the theatres were crowded in consequence, and many novelties were introduced to please the more extended audiences of the day. Moveable scenery (introduced by Sir William Davenant) of the most gorgeous character, foreign singers and dancers, and the whole splendour of the Opera, brilliant lights, rich costumes, and female actors (first mentioned in 1660), combined to make the stage attractive, and the actors so haughty, that they divided the town with their factions, and uttered severe remarks upon persons in power, for which they were occasionally committed to prison, and their theatres shut up. The court pageants still retained a good deal of their former quaintness and oddity, and masques and dancing were the chief amusements of the palace.

An ancient court practice (as old, indeed, as the time of Edward the Confessor) was still retained, namely, the practice of touching for the scrofula or king's evil, which the legitimate sovereigns of England, and they alone, were supposed to be able to cure by a single application of the royal hand. There is a regular service for this ceremony in some of the old prayer books, and the popular belief in its efficacy was still undiminished.

23. All classes of people were at this time equally diverted with the adventures of Punch and other puppet shows, which were not unfrequently founded on Scripture tales. Monkeys were also dressed up and taught to act in pantomimes, and to dance on the tight-rope. Feats of strength and dexterity, and juggling of all kinds, such as drinking plain water and returning it changed into wine, rope-dancing, and lifting immense weights, were favourite entertainments, not only at such places as Bartlemy or St. Margaret's Fair, but at private, and even royal banquets. Athletic exercises were not altogether neglected, swimming, foot-racing, tennis, skating (now either introduced or revived from Holland), boat and horse racing, and some military sports, being still great favourites with the court and the nobility. Bear, bull, and even horse-baiting, were revived at the Restoration, but soon

became less fashionable amongst the higher classes. Bowls were still a popular game, and card-playing, billiards, chess, backgammon, cribbage, and ninepins, with the occasional aid of a circulating library, helped largely to pass the vacant hour. Even the homely games of blindman's buff and handy-cap were not wholly despised amongst the splendid masques and private theatricals which enlivened the mansions of the wealthy.

24. Many of the old holidays were still observed as in the ancient time. On Valentine's Day the gallants sent presents of gloves, silk stockings, garters, or jewellery, to their valentines. On the 1st of May the maidens repaired to the fields to gather May dew for their fair faces; milk-maids danced in the streets with their pails wreathed with garlands, and accompanied by lively music. On New Year's Day inferiors presented gifts of homage to their patrons, and some courtiers are even said to have derived their entire income from this not very laudable custom.

With the Revolution, the history of English Antiquities may properly be said to close, since we then enter on a period of which every important characteristic has been handed down, with more or less of modification, to the present day. The changes, too, which would present themselves under every head of our work are so numerous and remarkable, that henceforth it would seem almost like reading the history of a different country, or of a new people.

In *political institutions* the alterations are marked with especial clearness and decision. The breach of the royal succession, and the singular circumstances under which William III. was placed on the throne, put the English monarchy from this time on an entirely different footing; the old basis of hereditary right and paramount prerogative being swept away, and the whole foundation of future sovereignty rested

upon the will of the parliament and people. The external form and peculiar offices of the monarchy were not, indeed, remodelled, but the right to retain and exercise them henceforth goes no higher than the convention of 1688. By the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement the limits of the regal prerogative, and the privileges of the subject, were now strictly defined, and equally placed upon the sole basis of the law. The subsequent incorporation of the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland effected, also, a great change in the position of those countries towards the central state.

In *religion* an avowed toleration was displayed towards all orthodox dissenters, with a proportionate and long continued rigour towards Romanists and Socinians. Presbyterianism was publicly established in Scotland, and the English Houses of Convocation were (in the year 1717) effectually silenced. In *learning and arts* new lines and schools appeared, and old ones declined, much to the injury of some branches, and the manifest benefit of others. The consequence was, at all events, a decided change in the public taste in almost every respect.

In *naval and military affairs* new methods and weapons of warfare rapidly superseded the clumsy tactics of former times, the musket and bayonet took the place of the pike, the cartouch-box of the bandelier, and the gorget, the last remaining piece of ancient defensive armour, sank into a stiff leathern neck-case.

In *commerce and agriculture* a complete revolution occurred, the seats and markets of manufactures being partially or wholly changed, the range of maritime adventure vastly increased, new instruments and processes of husbandry introduced, and the ancient breeds of domestic animals subjected to a series of experiments, which have incalculably raised their character and enhanced their utility.

Lastly, *the manners and customs* of the English people, from the highest to the lowest, now assumed that character, of which so deep and broad a trace is still retained, and which even the total lapse of the late generation will scarcely be sufficient to destroy.

APPENDIX.

I.

LISTS OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS OF REFERENCE WHICH MAY BE CONSULTED BY THOSE WHO WISH TO PURSUE THE STUDY OF ENGLISH ANTIQUITIES.

BRITISH PERIOD.

Roman Authors.

Ammianus Marcellinus, Historia.
Antonini Iter Britannicum (edited by Gale).
Cæsar's Commentaries.
Dio Cassius, Historia Romana.
Diodorus Siculus, Historia.
Festus Avienus, Geographica (in Wernsdorff's Poetæ Latini Minores).
Lucan, Pharsalia.
Notitia Imperii (in Grævius's Roman Antiquities, vol. vii. An account of the British part in Horsley's Britannia Romana).
Pliny, Historia Naturalis.
Ptolemy, Geographia.
Strabo, Geographica.
Suetonius, De Vitis Imperatorum.
Tacitus.

Ancient Authors.

There are no writings extant of this period, strictly speaking; unless a few pieces of Pelagius, Celestius, and St. Patrick may be included in it. A full collection, however, of the writers of the two succeeding periods, who have treated on British affairs, will be found in —

Commeline, Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores Vetustiores ac præcipui. Folio. Heidelberg, 1587.
Gale, Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores XV. Folio. Oxon, 1691.
Bede's Ecclesiastical History — Gildas' and Nennius' Histories of the Britons (as being themselves of that race), and the curious romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth (with its probable original, the Brut of Tysilio, published in the Welsh Archæology, and translated by Roberts, London, 1810), may be particularly mentioned.

Modern Authors.

Akerman, Coins of the Romans relating to Britain.
Archæologia, *passim* (a series of volumes published yearly by the Society of Antiquaries of London. The earlier volumes are particularly full of British matters).
Archæological Journals, *passim* (published by the Archæological Institute, and the British Archæological Association.)
Betham's Gael and Cymbri.
Bloxam, Glimpse at the History of Monumental Remains.
Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall.
Britannia after the Romans. London, 1836.
Britton's Architectural Antiquities.
Camden's Britannia.
Chalmers' Caledonia. 1807.
Davies' Celtic Researches. 1804.
Douglass' Nenia Britannica.
Duncan's Caledonia Romana.
Ellis, Metrical Romances.
Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities.
Gough's Sepulchral Remains of Britain.
Grose's Antiquities.
Hawkins' Silver Coins of England.
Henry's History of England.
Hoare's History of Ancient Wiltshire.
Horsley, Britannia Romana.
King's Munimenta Antiqua.
Lyson's Magna Britannia.
——— Reliquiæ Romanæ.
Machell Stace's British Historical Intelligencer. 8vo. Westm. 1829.
Moore's History of Ireland.
Musgrave's Belgium Britannicum.
Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.
——— History of England.
Pelloutier, Histoire des Celtes.
Petrie's Essay on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland.
Pictorial History of England.
Prichard's Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations.
Roberts' Early History of the Cymry. 1803.
Rowland's Mona Antiqua.
Roy, Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain.
Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.
Stackhouse on Pagan Architecture of Britain.
Stukeley, Iter Curiosum.
Toland's History of the Druids.
Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, *passim* (particularly the papers by Mr. Petrie).
Warton's History of English Poetry.
Wellbeloved's Eboracum, or York under the Romans.
Welsh Archæology. 1801.
Whitaker, History of Manchester.
Young, History of Whitby.

SAXON PERIOD.

Ancient Authors.

Aelfric, Homilies, by Thorpe (printed for Aelfric Society. 1843).
Alfred's Translation of Bede, by Wheloc. Folio. Cambr. 1644; and Smith, Camb. 1722.

Alfred's Translation of Boethius, by Cardale. 8vo. 1829.
——— Epitome of Orosius, by Ingram (at end of Inaugural Lecture, 1807).
Bede's Ecclesiastical History (lately edited by Dr. Giles).
Beowulf, Poem of. 12mo. London, 1833. (Translated by Kemble. 12mo. London, 1837.)
Cædmon's Paraphrase, edited by Thorpe. 8vo. London, 1832.
Concilia, by Spelman.
———, by Wilkins.
Durham Book, containing the Gospels (described in Brayley's Graphic Illustrator).
Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, by Wilkins. Folio. London, 1722.
MSS., Harleian, Cotton, Royal.
Saxon Chronicle, by Ingram. 4to. London, 1823.
——— and Latin Psalter, by Spelman. 4to. London, 1640.
Wharton's Anglia Sacra. Folio. London, 1691. (A collection of early ecclesiastical writers.)

Modern Authors.

Allen's Enquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England.
Archæologia, *passim*.
Archæological Journal, *passim*.
Blackstone's Commentaries.
Bloxam's Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture.
Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Grammar.
——— ——— Dictionary.
British Historical Intelligencer.
Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.
Edinburgh Review on Courts of Common Law, vol. xxxvi.
Glossary of Architecture. Oxford, 1846.
Hallam's Middle Ages.
Hawkins' Silver Coins of England.
Henry's History of England.
Heywood's Ranks of the Anglo-Saxon People.
Hickes' Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus. Folio. Oxon. 1705.
Mackintosh's History of England.
Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.
Maitland's Dark Ages.
Mallet's Northern Antiquities.
Meyrick's Ancient Costume of the British Islands.
Palgrave's History of England.
——— Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.
Pictorial History of England.
Quarterly Review, on the Sources of Early English History. No. 67.
Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, edited by Thorpe.
Rickman's Letters on Architecture. Archæologia, vol. xxv.
Ruding's Annals of the Coinage.
Spelman's Glossary.
——— Life of Alfred.
Strutt's Chronicle of England.
——— Horda Angel-Cynnan.
——— English Dresses (re-edited by Planché).
Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, to Edward the Confessor.
——— Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, or First Book for Students.
Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.
Wright's Biographia Britannica Literaria.

NORMAN PERIOD.

Ancient Authors.

Bayeux Tapestry, published in the Vetusta Monumenta, vol. vi.

Benedictus Abbas, De Vit. Hen. II. et Ric. I., by Hearne. 8vo. Oxon. 1735.

Benoît, Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, by Michel. 4to. Paris, 1836–1838.

Black Book of the Exchequer, by Hearne. 8vo. Oxon. 1728.

Camden's Anglica, Normanica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta. Folio. Frankfort, 1603.

Domesday Book. Folio. London, 1783. (The Indexes were printed in 1811, and an additional volume in 1816.)

————————, Sir H. Ellis' Introduction and Indexes to.

Duchesne's Hist. Normannorum, Script. Antiq. Folio. Paris, 1619. (Abridged by Maseres. 4to. London, 1807.)

Eadmer, Histor. Novorum. Folio. London, 1623.

Fitzstephen's Description of London (in Stowe's London, and translated by Pegge. 4to. London, 1722.)

Florence of Worcester, Chronicon. Folio. Frankf. 1601. (The earliest Anglo-Norman chronicler.)

Fulman's Rer. Ang. Script. Vett. Folio. Oxon. 1684.

Gale's Hist. Anglic. Script. V. Folio. Oxon. 1687.

Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium et Descriptio Cambriæ, by Hoare. 4to. London, 1806.

Glanvil's Tract. de Legibus Angliæ. 4to. London, 1673. (Translated by Beames. 8vo. London, 1812).

Great Rolls of the Norman Exchequer, by Soc. of Antiquar. 1840-1844.

Jocelin de Brakelonda, Chronica de Monast. S. Edmund, edited by Gage Rokewode, for the Camden Soc. 4to. London, 1840. (Translated by Tomlins, for Whittaker & Co.)

MSS., Royal, Harleian, Cotton, Bodleian, Magna Charta.

Richard of Devizes, Chronicon Ric. I., by the Historical Soc. 8vo. London, 1838.

Roman du Saint Graal, by Michel. 8vo. Bordeaux, 1841.

Rotuli Curiæ Regis, by Palgrave.

Savile's Rerum Anglicarum, scriptores post Bedam præcipui. Folio. London, 1596. Frankfort, 1601.

Spelman's Concilia.

Statutes of the Realm, published by the Record Commission.

Twysden's Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X. Folio. London, 1652.

Wace, Brut d'Angleterre, by Le Roux de Lincy. 8vo. Rouen, 1836–1838.

——, Roman de Rou (Rollo), by Pluquet. 8vo. Rouen, 1827.

——, translated into Early English by Layamon. (Quoted in Ellis' Specimens of the Early English Poets, and translated by Taylor for W. Pickering.)

Rymer's Fœdera.

Wharton's Anglia Sacra

William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Ang., by Hardy. 8vo. London, 1840. (Translated by Sharpe. 4to. London, 1815.)

William of Newburgh, Hist. Ang. by Hearne. 8vo. Oxon. 1719.
Wilkins' Concilia.
[The various collections in the above list contain the chronicles of Ingulphus, William of Poictiers, Ordericus Vitalis, William of Jumieges, Turgot, Simeon of Durham, John and Richard of Hexham, Ailred of Rivaulx, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden, Ralph de Diceto, Gervase of Canterbury, Vinesauf's Itiner. Regis Ric. I. in Terram Hierosol., and the Monastic Registers of Melrose, Margan, Waverley, Ramsay, Ely, Holyrood, Abingdon, Durham, Peterborough, Burton, &c.]

Modern Authors.

Allen's Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England.
Archæologia, *passim.*
Archæological Journal, *passim.*
Barrington, Observations on the Statutes.
Blackstone's Commentaries.
Bloxam's Principles of Gothic Architecture.
British Historical Intelligencer.
Britton's Architectural Antiquities.
———— Cathedrals.
Dugdale's Monasticon.
Edinburgh Review. — History of English Legislation. No. 69.
Ellis' Introduction to Domesday Book.
Fairholt's Costume in England.
Fosbroke's Encyclop. of Antiquities.
Glossary of Architecture. Parker, Oxford, 1846.
——— of British Heraldry. Oxford, 1846.
Hallam's Middle Ages.
Henry's History of England.
Hussey's Domestic Architecture.
Kerrick's Collection of Notes and Drawings (in the British Museum).
Leake's Historical Account of English Money.
Lower's Curiosities of Heraldry.
——— English Surnames.
Mackintosh's History of England.
Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.
Madox's History of the Exchequer.
Meyrick on Ancient Armour.
Mills' History of the Crusades.
Palgrave's History of England.
Pictorial History of England.
Rickman's Essay on Architecture.
Shaw's Illuminated Ornaments.
—— Dresses and Decorations.
Sketches of English Literature. (Knight's Weekly Volume, vol. xvii.)
Stothard's Monumental Effigies.
Strutt's English Sports and Pastimes.
Thierry, Histoire de la Conquête d'Angleterre. (Translated by Hazlitt.)
Turner's History of England.
Warton's History of English Poetry.
Wheaton's History of the Northmen.
Wright's Biographia Britannica Literaria.

EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD.

Ancient Authors.

Barbour, The Bruce, by Jamieson. 4to. Edinb. 1820.

Blind Harry, The Wallace, by Jamieson. 4to. Edinb. 1820.

Chaucer, by Tyrwhitt. 8vo. 1775.

Chronicle of Lanercost, edited by Stephenson. 4to. Edinb. 1839.

English Metrical Romances, by Ritson.

Fabyan's Concordance of Histories, by Ellis. 4to. London, 1811.

Froissart's Chronicle.

Gower. 4to. London, 1818.

Harrowing of Hell, a Miracle Play, temp. Edward II., by Halliwell.

Havelock le Danois, edited by Sir F. Madden. 4to. London, 1828.

James I. of Scotland, King's Quair, by Chalmers. 8vo. London, 1824.

John de Whethamstede, Chronicon, by Hearne. 8vo. Oxford, 1732.

Law Treatises — Bracton, Britton, Fleta, Mirror of Justices.

Lawrence Minot, Poems, by Ritson, 8vo. London, 1795, and 1825.

Layamon. (Edited for the Soc. of Ant. by Sir F. Madden.)

Lydgate's Poems, by Halliwell. 8vo. London, 1840.

Mandeville, Travels, by Halliwell. 8vo. London, 1839.

Marie de France, Lays, published by Roquefort. 8vo. Paris, 1820. (Translated by Ellis, Metrical Romances.)

Matthew Paris, Historia Major. Folio. London, 1571. 1640. and 1684. Paris, 1644. (Edited by M. Huillard-Breholles. 8vo. Paris, 1840.)

Metrical Romances, by Ellis.

MSS., Harleian, Sloane, Cotton, Arundel, Royal, Douce, Bodleian.

Paston's Letters, by Fenn. 1787 1789. 1823. and recently re-published.

Piers Ploughman's Vision, by Wright. 12mo. London, 1842.

——————— Creed (same edition).

Promptorium Parvulorum. (Edited for the Camden Soc. by Mr. Way.)

Reliques of English Poetry, by Percy.

Robert of Gloucester, Metrical Chronicle. 8vo. London, 1810.

Robert de Brunne, Metrical Chronicle, by Hearne. 8vo. Oxford, 1725.

Roger de Wendover, Chronica, edited by Coxe. 8vo. Lond. 1841.

Rotuli Curiæ Regis, by Palgrave.

Rymer's Fœdera.

Statuta Walliæ.

Statutes of the Realm.

Thomas Walsingham, Histories of England and of Normandy, published by Archbishop Parker. Folio. London, 1574.

Trevisa's Translation into English of Higden's Polychronicon. Folio. Caxton, 1482. Folio. Wynken de Worde, 1485; afterwards in 1517 and 1527.

Wicliffe, New Testament. (Bagster's English Hexapla. 4to. London, 1841.)

Wilkins' Concilia.

William Rishanger, Historia, (at end of Wats' edition of Matthew Paris. London, 1640.)

———————, De Bellis Lewes et Evesham, edited by Halliwell. 4to. London, 1840.

MODERN AUTHORS.

Allen's Royal Prerogative.
Archæologia, *passim.*
Archæological Journal, *passim.*
Barrington on the Statutes.
Blackstone's Commentaries.
Blore, Monumental Effigies.
Bloxam on Gothic Architecture.
——— Monumental Architecture and Sculpture.
Brande's Popular Antiquities.
Brayley and Britton's History of the Houses of Parliament.
British Historical Intelligencer.
Britton's Architectural Antiquities.
Cotton's Abridgment of the Rolls of Parliament.
Eden's State of the Poor.
Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities.
Glossary of Architecture.
Grose's Glossary.
Hallam's Middle Ages.
Halliwell's Early History of Freemasonry in England.
——— Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.
Hawkins' Silver Coins of England.
Hawkins' History of Music.
Henry's History of England.
Hussey's Domestic Architecture.
Knight's Biography of Caxton.
Latham's Lectures on the English Language.
Leake's Historical Account of English Money.
Lower on Heraldry.
Mackintosh's History of England.
Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.
Madox's History of the Exchequer.
Meyrick's Ancient Armour.
Mills' History of Chivalry.
Nichols' Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times.
Palgrave's History of England.
Pictorial History of England.
Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture.
Reeve's History of English Law.
Rickman on Architecture.
Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.
Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica.
Shaw's Alphabets and Devices of the Middle Ages.
——— Illuminated Ornaments.
Sinclair, History of Public Revenue.
Sketches of Literature and Learning in England. (Knight's Weekly Volume.)
Stothard's Monumental Antiquities.
Strutt's English Sports.
——— Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities.
Turner's History of England.
Waller's Brasses.
Walpole's Historic Doubts.
Warton's History of English Poetry.
Wright's Chester Mysteries.
——— Cathedrals.
——— Legends of Purgatory, &c.

[In the collections of Gale and Twysden may be found the Chronicles of John of Bromton, Wiccius, Hemingford, Henry de Knyghton, Stubbs, Thorne, Higden's Polychronicon, and Fordun's Scotichronicon (the last two in part only).]

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD.

Ancient Authors.

Ascham's Epistles.
——— Schoolmaster.
Books of Common Prayer, from Edward VI. to Charles II. (reprinted by Pickering).
Burghley Papers.
Cecil's Diary.
Chronicles of Hall, 1548; Grafton, 1569; Holinshed, 1577.
Cranmer's Works (by the Parker Society).
Dunbar's Poems, by Laing. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1834.
Foxe's Acts and Monuments.
Harrison's Description of England.
Hentzner's Itinerary (translated by Walpole, 1757).
Holbein's Portraits.
Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, by Keble. 8vo. Oxford, 1836.
Journals of the House of Commons, from 1547 (by Record Commission).
Letters of the Kings of England, by Sir H. Ellis.
Lord Surrey's Works. 4to. London, 1815.
Lyly's Euphues, 1578. 1581.
Marbeck's Common Prayer, with musical notes. Pickering.
MSS. Harleian, Cotton, Royal, Ashmolean, Lansdowne.
Puttenham's Art of English Poesie, 1582.
Rymer's Fœdera.
Shakspeare. (First edition, folio, 1623.)
Sir Thomas More's Works, by Rastell. 4to. 1557.
Skelton's Poetical Works, by Dyce. 8vo. Lond. 1843.
Spenser's Faery Queen.
State Papers of Henry VIII. (published by Record Commission, 1830).
State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler.
Statutes of the Realm, by the Record Commission.
Stowe's Summary of the English Chronicles, 1565.
——— Annals, 1573.
——— Chronicle of England, 1580.
——— Survey of London, 1598.
——— Flores Historiarum, 1600.
Stubbs' Anatomy of Abuses.
Sydney's Arcadia, 1593.
Valor Ecclesiasticus, Henry VIII. (by Record Commission).
Vetusta Monumenta.
Wilkins' Concilia.
Year Books.

Modern Authors.

Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.
Allen's Prerogative.
Anderson's History of Commerce.
Archæologia, *passim.*
Archæological Journal, *passim.*
Barrington on the Statutes.
Blackstone's Commentaries.
Bloxam on Architecture.
Brande's Popular Antiquities.
British Historical Intelligencer.
Britton's Architectural Antiquities.
Collier's Annals of the Stage.
Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.
Eden's State of the Poor.
Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities.
Grose's Glossary.

Grose's King Henry VIII.'s scheme of Bishoprics. Lond. 1838.
——— Military Antiquities.
Hallam's Constitutional History of England.
Halliwell's Nursery Rhymes of England.
——— Archaic Dictionary.
Hawkins' Silver Coins of England.
Hawkins' History of Music.
Hussey's Domestic Architecture.
Leake's English Money.
Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners.
Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.
Madox's History of the Exchequer.
Meyrick's Ancient Armour.
Nash's Old Mansions of England.
Nichols' Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times.
—— Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.
Palgrave's History of England.
Pictorial History of England.
Reeve's History of the English Law.
Richardson's Elizabethan Architecture.
Rickman on Architecture.
Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica.
Shaw's Specimens of Ancient Furniture.
Sinclair, History of Public Revenue.
Sketches of Literature in England (Knight's weekly vol.).
Smith's Topography of London.
Soames' History of the Reformation.
Stothard's Monumental Antiquities.
Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.
Tytler's Life of Henry VIII.
——— Life of Raleigh.
Warton's History of English Poetry.
Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times.

LATER ENGLISH PERIOD.

Ancient Authors.

Autobiography of Joseph Lister, by Wright, 1844.
Baker's Chronicle, 1641.
Burnet's History of his Own Times.
Camden's Britannia.
——— Annals.
Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Life.
Collection of National Airs, by Chappell.
Collier's Ecclesiastical History.
Dowsing's Journal. (Reprinted at Woodbridge, 1818.)
Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire.
——— Monasticon.
Early Dramatists, by Dyce.
Evelyn's Diary.
Fuller's Church History.
Fuller's Worthies.
Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ.
Heylin's Life of Laud.
Howell's Familiar Letters.
King James I.'s Works. Folio.
Laud's Diary.
Ludlow's Memoirs.
May's History of the Long Parliament.
Neal's History of the Puritans.
North's Life of Lord Keeper Guildford.
Old Plays, by Dodsley, 1780.
——— (with notes by Collier, 1825.)

Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.
Pepys's Diary.
Rushworth's Collection.
Rymer's Fœdera.
Scobell's Collection of Parliamentary Ordinances. Folio. London, 1658.
Somer's Tracts.
Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain, 1606.
Speed's History of Great Britain.
State Trials.
Statutes of the Realm.
Stowe's Survey of London. (Enlarged, 1633. and 1720.)
Strafford's Letters and Despatches.
Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.
Winwood's Memorials.
Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

Modern Authors.

Aikin's Court of James I.
——————— Charles I.
Allen's Prerogative.
Archæologia, *passim.*
Birch's Life of Prince Henry.
Blackstone's Commentaries.
Brande's Popular Antiquities.
British Historical Intelligencer.
Collier's History of Dramatic Poetry.
——— Shakspeare Library.
Cook's History of the Church of Scotland.
Eden's State of the Poor.
Fairholt's Costume in England. 1838.
Flaxman's Lectures on Sculpture.
Forster's Life of Strafford. (*Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.*)
Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities.
Gough's History of the Quakers.
Grose's Military Antiquities.
Hallam's Constitutional History of England.
——— Literature of Europe.
Halliwell's Dictionary.
——————— Shaksperiana.
Harris. Life and Writings of Charles I.
Hawkins' Silver Coins.
Hawkins' History of Music.
Hone's Every Day Book, and Year Book.
Jardine's Criminal Trials.
——————— Essay on Torture.
Leake's English Money.
Lodge's Illustrations.
Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.
M'Crie's Life of John Knox.
Mead's Discourse on Pestilential Contagion.
Meyrick's Armour.
Nash's Mansions of England.
Nichols' Progresses of James I.
Nugent's Memoirs of Hampden.
Pictorial History of England.
Reeve's History of English Law.
Rimbault's Bibliotheca Madrigaliana.
Robinson's Vitruvius Britannicus.
Sinclair's History of Public Revenue.
Stothard's Monumental Antiquities.
Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.
——— Sylva Britannica. (Old Forest Trees of England.)
——— Dresses and Habits, by Planché.
Tytler's History of Scotland.
Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.
Warton's History of English Poetry.

Principal Collections of MSS. in the British Museum.

Harleian — Lansdowne — Cotton — Royal — Sloane — Arundel.

MSS. at Oxford.

Ashmolean — Bodleian — Douce.

Societies instituted for the Publication of Scarce Works and Illustrations of Antiquities.

1. Abbotsford Club.
2. Aelfric Society.
3. Anglia Christiana Society.
4. Archæological Association.
5. ———— Institute.
6. Ashmolean Society.
7. Auchinleck Press.
8. Bannatyne Club.
9. Berkshire Society.
10. Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
11. ———— Camden Society.
12. Camden Society.
13. Ecclesiastical History Society.
14. English Historical Society.
15. Hakluyt Society.
16. Iona Club.
17. Irish Archæological Society.
18. Lichfield Architectural Society.
19. Lincolnshire Topographical Society.
20. Maitland Club.
21. Norwich and Norfolk Archæological Society.
22. Oxford Architectural Society.
23. Parker Society.
24. Percy Society.
25. Philological Society.
26. Roxburghe Club.
27. Royal Irish Academy.
28. Royal Society of Literature.
29. Shakspeare Society.
30. Society of Antiquaries of London
31. ———— of Newcastle.
32. ———— of Scotland.
33. Spalding Club.
34. Spottiswoode Club.
35. Surtees Club.
36. Warwickshire Archæological Society
37. Wodrow Society.

II.

NAMES OF THIRTY-THREE BRITISH CITIES, EXTRACTED FROM NENNIUS.

Caer Hebrauc - Eboracum, York.
— Ceint - Canterbury, or Ceint, *Anglesey.*
— Gurcoc - Ceirchiogg, *Anglesey ?*
— Guorthegern Gwitheryn, *Denbighshire ?*
— Gusteint - Llan-Gustenin, *Carnarvonshire ?*
— Guorancgon - Worcester, or Warrington.
— Segeint - Silchester, or Segont on the Menai.
— Guintrius - Norwich, or Gwynnys, *Cardiganshire.*
— Merdin - Carmarthen.
— Peris - Llan Peris, *Carnarvonshire ?*
— Lion - Cær leon, *Monmouthshire ?*
— Mencipit - Mansell, *Herefordshire ?*
— Caratauc - Carrog, *Cardiganshire ?*
— Ceri - Kerry, *Montgomeryshire ?*
— Gloui - Gloucester, or St. Gluvias, *Cornwall.*
— Luilid - Carlisle.
— Graunt - Grantchester, *Cambridgeshire.*
— Daun - Doncaster, *Yorkshire.*
— Britoc - Bristol, or St. Breock, *Cornwall.*
— Meguaid - Meivod, *Montgomeryshire.*
— Guent - Caer Gwent, *Monmouthshire.*
— Mauiguid - Menigid, *Anglesey*, or Mwynglawd, *Denbighshire.*
— Ligion - Chester, or Llanligan, *Montgomeryshire.*
— Collon - Colchester, or St. Colan, *Cornwall.*
— Londein - London.
— Guorcon - Warren or Woran, *Pembrokeshire ?*
— Lerion - Leicester.
— Draithou - Drayton, *Shropshire.*
— Pensavelcoit Ilchester, Pen-Selwood.
— Teun - Teyn Grace, *Devonshire ?*
— Urnahc - Llan Fernach, *Pembrokeshire ?*
— Celemion - Kilmaen Llwyd, *Pembrokeshire ?*
— Loitcoit - Ludlow, or Lytchett, *Dorsetshire ?*

III.

SPECIMENS OF SAXON AND OTHER ROOTS OF NAMES AND PLACES.

Ab, Abban, Abing, Abbots, from abba, abbot, *an abbot* (genitive abban, abbotep), as Abingdon, Abbotsbury.

Aber, Aver, Iver, Yaver, Yar, from aber (British), *the mouth of a river, ford, or lake,* as Abergavenny, Aberford, Lochaber, Yaverland, Yarmouth.

Ac, Ock, Oke, Auck, from ac, *an oak,* as Acle, Ockley, Okeford, Auckland, Baldock.

Aed, Ead, Ed, from eadig or eadig, *easy, happy, bold,* as Edgar, Edric, Edwin.

Ael, Eal, Al, Alh, Alch, Ealch, from ælc or eal, *each* or *all,* as Aelmund or Ellman, Alfred, Ealchstan or Elston, Alaric or Alric.

Aesc, Esc, Ash, Ashen, As, Osc, Os, Es, from aesc, *an ash* (implying *strength* or *courage*), as Aescwine, Ashton, Ashendon, Aston, Oscar, Oscar, Osborne.

Aethel, Aegel, Egil, Ayl, El, from aepel, *noble,* as Ethelbert, Aylmer.

Al, Addle, Adling, Adding, Adden, from æpel, *noble,* and æpelingap, *nobles,* as Althorp, Addlestrop, Allington, Addington, Addenbrook.

Al, Ald, Au, A, from ealb, *old,* as Albourne, Aubourn, Abury.

Aller, Eller, Alder, Arle, Arles, from alp, *an alder,* as Allerton, Ellerton, Alrewas, Alresford.

An, Ean, Ian, from an (in the sense of *unique, particular, qui solus*), as Eanberht, Ianberht, Eanbald, Anfred.

At, Ad, Od, Ot, from aet, *at,* as Atford, Adstock, Odstock, Otford.

Bad, Bed, Bid, Biddes, from Bieda? (name of a chief?) as Badbury, Badham, Bedhampton, Biddesden.

Bam, Bem, Bamp, from beam, *a beam of timber,* as Bamfleet, Bemfleet, Bampton.

Bar, Ber, Bere, from bap, *a boar,* bepe, *barley,* or bappe, *a barrow,* as Barton, Berwick, Bere.

Ben, Bin, from bean, *a bean,* as Bennington, Binfield.

Beorht, Berht, Briht, Bright, Burt, from beorht or byht, *bright,* as Beorhtwald or Bertold, Brihtric, Brighthelmstone.

Beorn, Bern, Barn, Bron, Brun, Bruin, Browne, from beorn (by metathesis breon), *highborn,* as Bernard, Barnet, Brunet or Burnet, Brownrig.

Brad, Brat, from brad, *broad,* as Bradford, Bratton.

Bran, Braun, Brown, Bourne, from brun or burn, *a brook,* as Branston, Brownsover, Winterbourne.

Bri, Brig, Brix, from bꝛicʒ, *a bridge*, as Bristol, Brigstock, Brixworth, Tunbridge.

Brom, Broom, Birm, from bꝛom, *broom*, as Bromwich, Bromwicham or Birmingham.

Brook, Brookes, from bꝛoc, *a brook*, as Brooksby.

Bur, Burh, Burg, Brough, Borough, Bury, Pury, Perry, from bur, *a bower*, burh, burʒh, beorʒ, bẏrɪʒ, *a town*, *a place of retreat* or *defence*, as Burton (by metathesis Bruton), Broughton, Edinburgh, Sudbury, Hartpury, Waterperry, De Burgh, Vanbrugh, Aldborough.

By, Bye, Bee, from bẏe (Danish), *a habitation*, as Derby, Harrowby.

Car, Char, Chard, Ciren, from cẏrran, *to turn*, as Char, Chard, Charing Cross, Cirencester. (Car in British names is derived from caër, *castrum*, for which the Saxons used the word ceaſtep).

Carl, Charl, Chorl, Churl, Chur, from ceorl, *a churl*, as Carlton, Charlton, Chorleywood, Churton.

Can, Ken, Keene, Kin, Chin, Coen, Cohen, Conn, from cen, *keen*, cẏnnan, *to ken* or *observe*, or cẏn, *kindred*, as Kenrick, Chinnery.

Ceol, Col, Kell, from ceol, *the keel*, as Ceolric or Coleridge, Ceolwulf or Joliffe, Colson, Kelson.

Chip, Cheap, Chippen, Chipping, from cẏppan, *to cheapen* or *buy*, as Cheapside, Chippenham, Chipping Norton. Compare Copenhagen, *the haven of merchants*, κάπηλοι.

Cleve, Cliff, Cleugh, Clew, Cleo, Clough, from clif or clouʒh, *a cliff* or *cleft*, as Cleveland, Clifton, Cleobury, Clewer, Cloughton, Buccleugh.

Comb, Combe, Comp, from comb, cumb, or cwm (British), *a confined valley*, as Castlecomb, Winchcombe, Compton, Cumberland.

Coning, Conis, Cunning, Kings, from cẏnɪnʒ, *a king*, as Coningsby, Conisborough, Cunningham, Kingston.

Cot, Cotten, Cotting, Coate, Coates, Cotts, Kyte, Keate, Kett, Kytel, Kettle, from cot, cẏte, cẏtel, *a small sheltered habitation*, as Cotswold, Wolvercot, Cotter, Keating, Thurkytel or Thurtell.

Crag, Cray, Crick, from cpecca, *a creek, crag, ravine*, or *fissure*, as Crayford, Cricklade.

Cuth, Cud, Coote, Cutts, Coutts, from cuþ, cuþa, *well known*, as Cuthbald or Cobbold, Cuthbert, Cuthburg or Coburg, Cuthwulf or Cuffe.

Cwen, Wen, Quin, Gwynne, Wynn, from cpen, *fair* (*gwyn*, British), as Queenborough, Wenman.

Dan, Dane, Dean, Den, Ten, from ðen, *a valley*, or *Dane*, as Danbury, Danesfield, Deanston, Denham, Tenby, Walden.

Der, Deer, Dyr, from ðeor, *deer*, as Derham, Deerhurst, Dyrham.

Don, Dun, Down, from ðun, *a down* or *hill*, as Doncaster, Huntingdon, Dunstable, Downton.

Dor, Dur, Durn, from dwr, *water* (British), as Dorchester, Durweston, Durham.

Ea, Ey, Eye, Y, Hey, from ea, *water*, ɪʒ or eʒe, *an island*, as Eaton,

Eye, Mersey, Avery, Heyford (but *hey* is perhaps derived from haȝa, *an inclosure*, as Lancelot's Hey).

Ecg, Ec, Eg, Edge, from ecȝ, *an edge, army*, &c., as Egbert, Echard, Edgeworth (or perhaps from eȝe, *an eye, awe*, &c.).

Eald, Eld, Ald, Old, Al, Ol, from ealð, *old*, as Ealdferth or Alford, Aldrich, Aldhelm, Aldam, Oldham.

El, Ellen, from ellen, *strength*, or from Ælla (a Saxon king), as Elton, Ellenborough.

Engle, Ingel, from anȝel or enȝel, *an angle, angel*, &c., as Engleheart, Ingleby.

Flam, Flem, Flim, Flin, from Flýmingaþ, *the Flemings*, as Flamborough, Fleming, Flimby, Flinton.

Fleot, Flet, Fled, Fleet, Flot, from fleot or flod, *a flood*, as Fleetditch, Fledborough, Northfleet, Elvet.

Ford, Forth, Frith, from foþ, *a ford*, as Oxford.

Frith, Frid, Firth, Ferth, Freod, Fred, Frod, from friþ, *peace, freedom, security*, as Ethelfrith, Aldfrid, Sifferth, Freothogar, Frederic, Froude, Geoffrey, Humphrey or Homefrith.

Gar, Ger, Jar, from ȝar, *a weapon, a place of defence* or *security*, as Garrett, Gerard, Jarrett, Gerald, Garulf or Gough, Edgar, Ethelgar.

Gars, Grass, Gres, from ȝaerf, *grass*, as Garsington, Grassington, Garsden, Gresham.

Gate, Yate, Gates, Yates, Yatten, from ȝat, *a goat*, or ȝate, *a gate*, as Gateshead, Yatcomb, Yatesbury, Woodyates.

Gewis, Wise, from fiȝ or fiȝe, *wise*, as Guise, Wise.

Glo, Glou, from ȝleap, *bright, glowing* (*gloyw*, British), as Gloucester (but some derive this from Claudius).

Graf, Grave, Grove, from ȝræf, *an entrenchment, grave*, or *grove*, as Grafton, Graveley, Groveley, Gravesend. (The titles of Landgrave, Margrave, &c., are derived from ȝeneta, *a ruler*).

Guth, God, Good, from ȝuh, ȝoð, *good*, as Guthere or Goodyear, Guthlac or Goodlake.

Hal, Heale, Hall, Hell, from healle, *a hall* or *covered abode*, as Halton, Eccleshall.

Hald, Heald, Hele, Hild, Hold, from healdan, *to hold*, or holð (a Danish chieftain), as Haldiman, Hilding, Holden, Machthild or Matilda, Hildigarda, Reginald, Thorold or Tyrrell.

Ham, Hamel, Hem, Hemel, from ham, hamol, *a sheltered habitation*, as Hamstead, Hemel-Hempstead, Waltham.

Har, Hare, Hard, Her, Herd, Hor, Hur, from har, *a hare*, here, *an army*, or heorð, *a herd*, as Harwich, Harewood, Hardwick, Horwood, Hurley.

Hat, Had, Head, Heding, Eding, from hæþ, *heath*, as Hatton, Hadleigh, Headley, Hedingham, Edington.

Heard, Hard, Herd, Ard, Ert, from heorð, *a herdsman*, as Colthard. Lambard, Herdric, Hoggart, Shepherd.

Helm, Elm, Emm, from helm, *a helmet*, as Kenelm, Nothelm or Needham, Ordhelm or Oram, Wulfhelm or William.

Here, Har, Er, Her, from here, *an army*, as Herman, Hereward.

Hithe, Eth, Iff, from hỳþe, *a landing-place*, as Queenhithe, Rotherhithe, Lambhithe or Lambeth, Maidenhead or Maidenhithe.

Hoe, Hoo, Hough, Hock, Hook, from hoh, *high*, as Ivinghoe, The Hoo, Houghton, Hockley, Hook-Norton. (Haughley is perhaps from haȝa-leaȝ). In Yorkshire Hooe means *a barrow* or *tumulus*. See Young's Whitby.

Holm, Hollym, Hulme, Hulmp, Lump, Lum, from holm, which has various senses, but generally signifies *extent* or *length*, as Holmwood, Holmpton, Collumpton, Lumley.

Holt, Hot, Hod, Hots, from holt, *a wood*, as Sparsholt, Evershot, Hoddesdon, Hotspur.

Hurst, Herst, Est, Hest, from hỳrst, *a thick wood*, as Midhurst, Herstmonceux, Fingest, Hurstley, Worstley.

Ing, Ving, Vang, Vane, Fane, Wing, Wink, Wan, Age, from ing, *a meadow*, as Ingham, Wingfield, Winkfield, Ivinghoe, Wantage. (Wanstead may perhaps come from panat, *a want*). *Ing* also signifies *a son* (the same as iung, *young*), as Godwulfing or Godolphin.

Leod, Lid, Lud, from leod or hlod, *a people* or *army*, as Leodgar or Ledger, Leodwall or Liddell, Hlothwig or Ludovicus.

Lay, Lea, Lee, Leigh, Ley, from leaȝ, *a plain* or *untilled land*, as Layton, Leebrookhurst, Bromley.

Low, Lowe, Loe, Loo, from hlæw, *an extensive tract of land*, as Hounslow, Lowestoft.

Marsh, Mars, Mers, Mas, from mersc, *a marsh*, as Marshlands, Marston, Mersham, Aldermaston.

Mær, Mar, Mer, Mor, More, Moore, from mær or mæra, *large, great* (*mawr*, Brit.), as Mears, Ethelmær or Aylmer, Morrell, Morehead, Moorhouse.

Mere, Mir, Mor, Moore, More, from mere, *a lake*, or mor, *a moor*, as Merton, Mirfield, Moreton, Westmoreland, Highmoor.

Mod, Mit, Mot, Motte, from mod, *the mind*, as Osmod, Wulfmot or Willmot.

Mund, Mond, from mund, *peace*, as Alkmund or Hammond, Edmund, Gifmund or Gibbon, Ceolmund or Cholmondeley, Sigismund or Symonds.

Ness, Nesse, Nase, from næs or nesse, *a promontory* or *rising ground*, as Holderness, Naseby, The Nase.

Noth, Nott, Natt, Noad, Nutt, from neod or nỳd, *need, aid, utility*, as Athelnoth or Allnutt, Ceolnoth or Gillett.

Oare, Ore, Or, Er, from ora, *an extremity*, as Stonor, Windsor.

Ord, Orde, Word, Worth, from orð, *origin, beginning*, as Ordhelm or Orme, Orderic or Horrocks.

Over, from ofer, *over;* as Overy, ofer ea, *over the water.*

Ouse, Ose, Use, Ex, Ux, Wis, from ifc, ifca, ufa (perhaps from the Gaelic uiſge, *water*), a general name for a slow river, as Ouse, Oseney, Usk, Exeter, Exmouth, Uxbridge, Wisbeach.

Prest, Pres, from preoſt, *a priest,* as Preston.

Ræd, Read, Reid, Rod, Rudd, Reoda, Routh, from ræd, *a counsel,* as Ethelred, Baldred, Rodbert or Robert, Rodger, Ruddiman.

Ric, Rich, from ric, *a kingdom,* as Ethelric, Richard, Wulfric or Woolridge.

Rig, Ridge, from hric or hricg, *a ridge,* as Rigsby, Doveridge. In Yorkshire the Roman roads are called in many places *The Rig.*

Scaw, Sco, Sho, Shoe, Shaw, from ſcoz or ſcob, *a wood* (Danish), as Scawby, Schofield, Shoebury, Shawbury.

Sel, Sil, from ſel, *large,* as Selwood, Silchester.

Sige, Se, Sy, from ſige, *victory,* as Sighere or Sayer, Siward.

Stad, Stead, Sted, Stod, from ſteaþ or ſtæþe, *a station,* as Stadhampton, Hampstead, Stedward or Stewart, Stodhart, Wigsted.

Stam, Stan, Stone, from ſtan, *a stone,* as Stamford, Stonehouse, Dunstan.

Stock, Stoke, from ſtoc, *wood, fuel,* as Woodstock, Stockport.

Stow, Sto, from ſtop, *a place of residence,* as Godstow, Stowey.

Thorp, Throp, Trop, Thrap, Threp, Trep, Trip, from þorp, *a village,* as Towthorp, Heythrop, Addlestrop, Thrapston.

Thoth, Taute, Toute, Tot, Tet, Tut, Tad, Ted, Dod (from the Celtic god Thoth, or Mercury Teutates, to whom many Toot-hills were consecrated); as Tottenham, Tettenhall, Tadcaster, Tutbury, Dodderhill.

Thunnor, Tonner, Towner, Thor, Torr, Thur, Tur, from Ðor (supposed to be contracted for Ðunnor), *the God of thunder,* as Thoresby, Thorold, Thurkytel, Turton.

Thwaite, Waite, from þpæte, *a watery spot,* as Thwaites, Postlethwaite.

Ton, Tone, from tun, *an inclosure, a town,* as Taunton. (Tun and ðun are sometimes confounded).

Wad, Wat, from wæð or wæð, *a place that may be waded,* as Wadham, Watford.

Wald, Walt, Weald, Wild, Wold, Would, from wealð or wolð, *a wild tract* (whether with or without *wood*), as the Wealds of Kent and Sussex, and the Wolds of Yorkshire. Hence Waldershare, Waltham, Wildon, Kingswould.

Wald, Weld, Wild, Wold, from walð, *power, strength, dominion,* as Bertwald, Oswald.

Weard, Ward, Werd, Word, from weard, *a guard,* as Edward, Aelfword, Ethelweard, Hereward.

Werth, Worth, Worthy, from weorð, *a village* or *town near the head of a river,* as Tamworth, Worthington, Headbourn-Worthy.

Wick, Wichen, Wish, from ꝑic, *a retreat*, as Harwich, Wichenford or Wishford.

Wig, Wige, Wye, Wice, Weo, from ꝑiȝe, *a battle*, or ꝑiȝa, *a warrior*, as Aelfwig or Elwy, Oswy, Wiglaf.

Wight, Whit, from ꝑihꞇ, *active, strong*, as Wightwick or Whittick.

Win, Wen, Wine, from ꝑin, *a contest* or *victory*, or ꝑine, *beloved*, as Bedwin, Winslow, Wenden, Windermere, Edwin, Ethelwin or Elwin.

Wood, Woot, Wot, from ꝑuƀa, *wood*, as Wootton or Wotton, Brentwood.

SPECIMENS OF THE ANCIENT MODES OF FORMING AND WRITING PROPER NAMES.

Abingdon, Æbben-ƀun, *Abbot's Hill*, Abbandonia (Florentius), Abbendune (Ethelred, Abbot of Rivaulx), Abbingdon (Bede), Abendon, Abyndon (Knyghton).

Axminster, Æcſan-mýnſꞇep, *Minster of the Oaks*, Axanminster (Flor.), Acseminster (Henry of Huntingdon).

Athelney, Æðelinȝa ıȝȝe, *the island of nobles*, Aethelingœg (Asser), Ethelingœige (Flor.), Adelingia (William of Malmesbury), Ethelingeie (Henry of Hunt., Matthew of Westminster), Edelingeheie (Ethelred), Ethelynghei (Bede).

Apledore or Appledore, Y pwl y dwr, *a pool of water* (British), Apoldore (Eth.), Apultrea (Flor.).

Berkshire, Beappucſcıpe, Beappucſcıpe, Bappucſcıpe, "*Ita vocatur a* Berroc *Sylva ubi buxus abundantissime nascitur*" (Flor. from Asser), Berrocscire (Ass.), Bearrucscire, Barrocscire, Bearrocscire, Barocssire (Flor.), Berruchescire (Will. of Malm.), Bearrucscire, Berescire, Beresire (Hen. of Hunt.), Bearrukeschire, Berkesire (Roger de Hoveden), Barocschire, Barcshire, Barkshire (Bede).

Bristol, Bꝛıcȝꞇop, Bꝛıꞇop, *place of the bridge*, Brichstou (Ordericus Vitalis), Bricstowa (Flor.), Brigestou, Bristou (Hen. Hunt.), Brycstoue (Simon Dunelmensis), Brikestow, Bristohw (Rog. Hov.), Bristowe (Knyghton).

Charford, Leꝑðıceꝼꝼoꝛð, *Cerdic's Ford*, Cerdicesforda (Eth.), Certicesford (Hen. Hunt.).

Croyland, Ꝉꝛulanð, Ꝉꝛoylanð, *foul, muddy land*, Crowland (Bede).

Derby, Deoꝛabý, Deoꝛbý, *habitation of wild beasts*, Dereby, Derebi (Hen. Hunt.).

Dorsetmen, Doꝛnſæꞇaꝛ, Doꝛꝼæꞇaꝛ, (British, *Durotriges;* dwr, *water*, trig, *an inhabitant*), Dorset, Dorsete (Bede).

Ely, Elıȝ, Elı-býꝛıȝ, Elý, *the island of eels*, Ely (Bede).

Flanders, Flanðer, Flanðan, *land of fugitives* (Fleondra-land, from flýma, *a vagabond, exile*) —

> "Abel lay slane upon the ground,
> Curst Cain *flemit* and vagabound."
> *David Lyndsay.*

Gloucester, Gleapan-ceaster, Gleýcester, Glouceſter, *the bright city*, (Caer Gloyw, British), Glæcestria (Will. Malm.), Gloecestre (Sim. Dun.), Gloucestre (Hen. Hunt.).

Hertford, Þeoritford, *stags' ford*, Herudford (Bede), Hertford (Knyghton).

Rochester, Þrofer-ceaster, Roue-ceaster, *Roff's city*, Rhovecestre (Flor.), Rovecestria (Will. Malm.), Roueceastre (Hen. Hunt.).

Lichfield, Licetfeld, *the field of corpses*, Lichfeld (Ingulphus), Licethfeld (Sim. Dun.), Lichesfeld (Gervase), Lichefelde (Bede), Lychefeld (Knyghton). Compare Lichgate, *the entrance gate to a churchyard;* Lykewake, *the funeral feast.*

Merton, Mertun, Mereðune, *marshy town*, Meretun (Flor.), Meritona (Matt. West.), Merton (Bede).

The Nore, Norð-muð, *north mouth.*

Oxford, Oxnaford, Oxenford, *ford of the oxen*, Oxneforda (Flor.), Oxineford (Hen. Hunt.), Oxneford (Bede).

Seckington, Seccandun, *the hill of the battle*, Secandune (Bede).

Staines, Stane, from the stone set up to mark the boundary of jurisdiction of the city of London.

Torksey, Turcesige, *island of boats*, Torchseige (Hen. Hunt.), Torkesei (Rog. Hov.).

Warwick, Þærincaric, Þæringfic, from perinc, *a rampart*, or guarth, *a garrison* (British), Warewic (Hen. Hunt.), Wyrengewyke (Bede), Warrewych, Warwyk (Knighton).

Waltham, Þealham, *a habitation in the woods*, Walteham (Hoved.), Waltham (Gervase).

INDEX.

A.

Aberdeen, University of, 258.
Acton Church, Suffolk, monumental brass in, 174.
Adrian, "Perpetual Edict" of, 5.
Aelfric of Canterbury, 46. 53.
Aggas, Ralph, his plan of London, *temp.* Elizabeth, 386.
Agricola, arrival of, in Britain, 5.
Agriculture, state of, under the ancient Britons, 20; Anglo-Saxon, 66; implements of, *ib.*; its progression in the 11th and 12th centuries, 123; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 201; in the 15th century, 206; in the 16th century, 285; in the 17th century, 399; state of, after the Revolution, 444.
Air-pump, the, invention of, 376.
Alban's, St., revenue of the monastery of, 228.
Albigenses, the, persecutions of, 96.
Alcuin, tutor of Charlemagne, 51.
Ale, British, 23; Saxon, 67; "assize" of, or laws regulating the price of, 197; ale and beer of the 16th century, 311; custom of exposing it for sale in churchyards at Easter and Whitsuntide, 318.
Alfred, King, his love of knowledge, 51; his endowment of schools and seminaries, 52; the navy of, 64; voyages of discovery instituted by him, *ib.*; commercial spirit of, 68.
Algebra, progress of, in the 16th century, 266; 17th century, 373.
Alphabet, Ogham or Ogma, 18; Anglo-Saxon, 49; Runic, 48.
Alum, manufacture of, 392.
Amboyna, massacre at, 401.
Ambrosius, Aurelius, 6.
America, discovery of, 285, 286.
———, North, trade with, 406.
Anatomy, discoveries in, 374. 378.
Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, 366.
Angles, the arrival of, in Britain, 28.
Anglesey, Llan Tysilio church, decorated window in, 171.
Anglo-Saxon, alphabet and language, 49; Lord's Prayer and specimen of poetry, 50.
"Annates," or first-fruits of benefices, 153. 239.
Anthems and sacred music in the 16th century, 276; in the 17th, 387.
Apprentices, London, 433.
Arabs, learning of the, in the 11th century, 97; Arabic numerals, 100. 159.
"Arcadia" of Sir P. Sydney, 263.
Arch, pointed, supposed origin of, 106.
Archery, practice of, 63. 118. 215. 222. 282.
Architecture of the Britons, 16. 55; of the Anglo-Saxons, 53; *Romanesque Saxon*, 54; Sompting church, 54; Repton church, 55; Brixworth, *ib.*; church in Dover Castle, *ib*; Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall *ib.*; Earl's Barton church, 56. — *Norman style*, 103; St. Cross, 104. 106; Ryton church, 104; Queenington, 105; Drayton, 107; Newcastle keep, 108. — *Early English Style*, 169; Bicester church, *ib.*; Beverley minster, 170; St. Giles's, Oxford, *ib.* — *Decorated style*, 171; Llan Tysilio church, Anglesey, *ib.*; Canterbury cathedral, 172; Ingworth church, *ib.*; monumental brasses, 174; Warwick and Windsor Castles, *ib.*; domestic architecture of the 13th and 14th centuries, 175; Stoke Castle, *ib.* — *Perpendicular style*, 176; York Minster, 177. 179; New College chapel, 178; nave of Canterbury Cathedral, 179; Ecclesiastical architecture of the 16th century, 267. — *Debased style* of Tudor Gothic, 267; Tong church, Salop, 268; debased window in Ladbrook, Warwickshire, *ib.*; rood at Sherborne, Dorset, 269; pulpits, roodlofts, reading-desks, altars, 270; sedilia, piscina, &c., 270, 271; piscina and

tomb at Long Wittenham, 270; ancient communion table at Sunningwell church, 271; fresco paintings, 272; domestic architecture of the 16th century, 272; palace of Sheen, 272; mansions of the Italian school, 273; "The Duke's House," Bradford, 274; progress of building in London under Elizabeth, 314; progress of architecture in 17th century, 378; works of Inigo Jones, 378; Palladian style, 379; Sir C. Wren's plans for the restoration of London, 381; the Monument, *ib.*; St. Paul's Cathedral, 380; churches in London, 382; brick and timber houses of the 17th century, 380; domestic architecture of the 17th century, 417.
Aristotle, philosophy of, 99. 158.
Arithmetic, science of, 51. 99. 159. 266. 373.
Arius, heresy of, 11.
Armada, Spanish, 284.
Armour and weapons of the Britons, 17, 18; of the Anglo-Saxons, 62; of the Normans, 113, 114; armour of 13th century, 183; description of its various portions, 184, 185, 186; armorial bearings, 184; armour of the 14th century, 186; armour and weapons of the 15th and 16th centuries, 189. 279; of the 17th century, 393. 396. 444; suit of armour presented to Henry VIII., 280.
Arras, tapestry of, 216.
Arts and learning of the Britons, 13; Anglo-Saxons, 48; of the Norman period, 97. 112; of the 13th and 14th centuries, 158; of the 15th and 16th centuries, 258; of the 17th century, 358.
Arundel, Archbishop, his persecutions of the Lollards, 154.
———, Earl of, his collection of pictures, busts, and gems, 386; the Arundelian marbles at Oxford, *ib.*
Ascham, Roger, "Toxophilus" of, 263.
Asser, biographer of Alfred, 51.
Astrology, study of, 100. 159. 167. 267.
Astronomy, science of, 100; description by Ingulphus of a curious nadir or planetary table burnt at Croyland, 100; progress of, in the 14th century, 159; in the 17th century, 373. 377.
Athelstan, Psalter of, 57; state of the navy under, commercial enactments of, 68.
Attorneys, number of, restricted in Norfolk and Suffolk, 182.
Augsburg confession, 243.
Augustine Friars, 147.
Augustin, arrival of, in Britain, 41.
Autographs of English monarchs — Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., 143; Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 234.

B.

Bacon, Lord, philosophy and works of, 367; his history of Henry VII., 368.
——, Roger, discoveries of, 158.
——, supposed derivation of the word, 67.
Badby, burned at Smithfield, 155.
Baker, Sir R., chronicles of, 368.
Balancing, sport of, 129.
Bancroft, Archbishop, 340.
Bankrupts, statute of, under Henry VIII., 231.
Banks, establishment of, 202; modern system of banking, 410.
Barbadoes, settlement of, 407.
Barbour, John, Scotch poet, 164.
Barcelona, "Table of Exchange" or bank established at, 202.
Bards, ancient, 10.
Barklay's "Ship of Fools," 260.
Barons, mode of creating, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 132. 143.
Barrow, Isaac, writings of, 372.
Barrows, sepulchral, 25.
Basil, Council of, 153.
Bath, abbey church of, 267.
Baths of the Anglo-Saxons, 74.
Battering engines, 191.
Baxter, Richard, writings of, 372.
Bear-baiting, 129. 314. 442.
Beards. (*See* Hair.)
Becket, Thomas à, 92; spoliation of the tomb and shrine of, 241.
Bede, the venerable, works of, 51.
Beds, bedsteads, and bed-furniture, 72. 125; of the 13th century, 175. 208; of the 16th century, 310. 312; of the 17th century, 423; great bed of Ware, 300.
Beer and ale of the 16th century, 311. (*See* Ale.)
Beggars, enactments against and treatment of, 139. 297. 421.
Behn, Mrs., plays of, 364.
Benedictine monks, 95.
Beowulf, Saxon poem of, 50.

Berengaria, queen of Richard I., tomb of, 127.
Bernard, St., 100.
Bethlem Hospital, Cibber's sculpture at, 383.
Beverley minster, lancet window of, 170.
Bible, 12. 47; specimen of Wycliffe's, 151; translation of, by Tyndal, &c., 242; under James I., 338; the language of the, 367.
Bicester church, clustered column of, 169.
Billingsgate, port dues of, under Ethelred, 68.
Birmingham in the 17th century, 418.
Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth, 53.
Bishoprics, 12. 43. 95; new, created under Henry VIII., 241.
Blake, Admiral, 397.
Blindman's buff, 222. 443.
Blood, discovery of the circulation of, 374.
Boats or coracles of the ancient Britons, 18; pleasure-boats on the Thames, 222.
Bob-apple, sport of, 129.
Bombships, invention of, 398.
Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, 51.
Books, imports of, by the Saxons, 69; rooms for binding and illuminating, 101; on law, 140. 233; "Yearbooks," 140. 233; license on, 326.
Boots and shoes, customs and enactments concerning, 217. (*See* Costume.)
Borde, Andrew, Dr., 302.
Botany, works on, 378; botanical gardens, *ib.*
"Bowl, mazer," the, *temp.* Richard II., 214.
Bowls, game of, 129. 221. 443. *See* "Sports."
Boy, bishop, 215; tomb of, at Salisbury, 216.
Bradford, the "Duke's House" at, 274.
Bradshaw, Rev. Mr., treatise of, on English Puritanism, 340.
Brasses, monumental, 174. 179.
Bread, assize of, 197.; kinds of, 311.
Breakspear, Nicholas (Adrian IV.), 99.
Brick-built houses, 179; Roman and Flemish bricks, manufacture of, 179.
Bridges of wood and stone, 111.
Bristol, exportation of slaves from, 69.; place of great trade, 121. 203. 285.
Britain, etymology of the word, 1; early settlers in, 1; history of the British tribes, 2; political institutions of, 3; Druids and priesthood, 9; church of, 12; ancient learning of, 13; practice of magic and divination, 15; agriculture and arts, 15. 20; improvement under the Romans, 16; naval and military affairs, 17; armour, weapons, war-chariots, &c., 17, 18; commerce and agriculture, 20; exports from, to Rome, 21; coinage, 22; manners and customs, 23; costume, 24; matrimonial regulations, 25; rites of burial, *ib.*; sepulchres and barrows, *ib.*; ancient British clergy, 42; ancient language of, 48.
Britton, Thomas, the musical small-coal-man, 389.
Brixworth in Northamptonshire, church of, 55.
Brownists or Independents, 255. 340. 348.
Building, progress of, in London, under Elizabeth, 314.; in the 17th century, 416. (*See* Architecture.)
Bull-baiting, 129. 222. 314. 442.
Bull, bishop, writings of, 372.
Burghs, or larger Saxon towns, 36.
Burial, rites of, among the ancient Britons, 25; the Anglo-Saxons, 76; Normans, 130.
Bunyan, John, "Pilgrim's Progress," of, 373.
Burnet, Gilbert, bishop of Salisbury, writings of, 372.
Burning of heretics, 154, 155. 235. 237. 240. 244, 245. 248, 249. 256. 339. (*See also* Smithfield.)
Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," 367.
Busher, work on Toleration, 350.
Butler, Samuel, poetry of, 370.

C.

Cabot, Sebastian, 286, 287.
Cade, Jack, insurrection of, 138.
Cædmon, monk of Whitby, poetical writings of, 50.
Cæsar, invasion of, 21.
Caius, John (or Key), 266.
Calais, merchants of, 204; taken by the French in 1558, 289.
Caledonians, etymology of the word, 2; description of, 23.
Calvin's system of church government, 254.
Cambridge university, foundation of, 52; state of, in the 12th century, 98;

colleges of, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 160. 164; colleges added between 1496 and 1594, 258; dissoluteness of the students at, in the 17th century, 432.
Cannons, ancient, 187; manufacture of, 392. (*See* Armour and Weapons.)
Canoe, ancient British, 19.
Canon Law, 145. 248.
Canons of Aelfric, 46.
Canterbury, first Saxon archbishop of, 43; Eadmer of, 103.
——— cathedral, carved diaper work in, 172; effigy of the Black Prince in, 185.
Canute, law of, against the worship of the sun, moon, &c., 10. 46; commerce fostered by, 68; poetry of, 53.
Canyng, William, merchant of Bristol, 203.
Carausius, accession of, 6; the British navy under, 19.
Card-playing, 221. 315; *temp.* Charles II., 443.
Carmelite or White Friars, 147.
Carpentry of the Anglo-Saxons, 61.
Carriage, state, of Q. Elizabeth, 313.
Carriages, travelling, 61.
Cartoons of Rafaelle, 383.
Castles, Norman, 107.
Carthusian monks, 95.
Cathedrals, choral services of, 110. 276. 388.
Catholics, Roman, laws against, 338. (*See* Church.)
Cattle, an important part of commerce in early times, 71.
Caxton, William, 166; specimen of his printing, *ib.*; the "Golden Legend" of, 386.
Celt, derivation of the word, 1; Celtic race, 1; eloquence and poetry among the Celtic tribes, 15; their habits, 18; their hospitality, 23.
Celts or weapons of the Britons, 15. 17.
Centlivre, Mrs., plays of, 364.
Ceorls, or villains, tenants bound to the soil, 33, 34.
Chair, coronation, 175.
Chalk church, Kent, grotesque figure on the porch of, 318.
Chancellor, Lord, office of, 81. 141. 230, 326.
Chancery, court of, 141. 230. 326. 330.
Channel islands, French churches in, 341.
Chapman, plays of, 362.
Charing Cross, history of Le Sœur's equestrian statue of Charles I. at, 383.
Chariot, the war, of the ancient Britons, 18.
Charlemagne, commercial treaty of, with Offa, 68.
Charles I., accession of, 322; petition of right, *ib.*; ship money, *ib.*; monopolies, *ib.*; long parliament, *ib.*; impeachment of Laud and Strafford, 323; civil war, *ib.*; trial and execution of Charles, 324; state of the navy under, 397; equestrian statue of, at Charing Cross, 383.
Charles II., reign of, 325; state of the revenue under, 333; national debauchery under, 440.
Charters of the Anglo-Norman kings, 84; Charta Magna, specimen of, 85.
Chase, seizure of lands for royal, 88; sports of the, 75. 128. 220. 430.
Chaucer, poetry of, 163.
Chaunt, Gregorian, 60.
Chemistry, knowledge of, 101. 159. 266. 378.
Chess, game of, 75. 129. 443.
Chest, ancient, *temp.* K. John, 109.
Chester, exportation of slaves from, 69; plays, 215; seal of the constable of, 114.; trade of, 121. 285.
Chicheley, Abp., his persecution of the Lollards, 155.
China ornaments, 423.
Chivalry, Norman, 115; spirit of, 187; its decline, 191. 281.
Chocolate, introduction of, 403, 404.
Chrismatory, or vessel for the sacred oil used in extreme unction, 271.
Christ's Hospital, caps worn by the boys of, 303.
Christianity, introduction of, into Britain, 10. 41.
Christmas fare in the 16th century, 299; festivities, 315.
Chronicles and histories, 160; Matthew Paris, *ib.*; Saxon chronicle, 53. 103; specimen of Robert of Gloucester's, 163; of Mannyng's, *ib.*
Church, British, government and discipline of, 12; of England established, 44; donations from the wealthy, *ib.*; provision for the clergy, *ib.*; kirkscot — tithes — canons for the reformation of the clergy — contest about the use of images, 45; Peter Pence, "Smoke Silver," *ib.*; plunder of, in the 9th century, by the Danes, *ib.*; penitential discipline, 46; missals and prayer-books, *ib.*; ornaments, 61; state of in the 11th and 12th centuries, 91—96; contest of, with

the civil power, 145; lavish donations to, 146; statute of Mortmain, *ib.*; English convocation or synod of, 150; popular feeling against, 152; friendly connection between the Crown and the clergy, 153; legal enactments in favour of, 154; the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, 154; divisions of, 156; character of the clergy, 157; style of preaching in the 15th century, *ib.*; omission of the second, and division of the tenth commandments, *ib.*; progress and influence under Henry VIII., 235, *et seq.*; spoliation by the commissioners of Henry VIII., 241; parliamentary statutes, 245; liturgy, 247—250; articles of, 248—251; clergy ejected from their livings, 254; state of, under Elizabeth, 250; fines for non-attendance at, 252; church government, 254; puritanism, 255; state of, under James I., 336.
Church of Scotland, 47. 334.
——— ales, 318.
——— lands, seizure of, 229.
——— music of Ireland, 60; of the Anglo-Saxons, *ib.*; of the Normans, 110.
Churches of London, 382.
Cibber the sculptor, 383.
Cinque ports, 118.
Cistercian monks, 95; dealers in wool, 204.
Cities, origin of, 36.
Clarendon, council of, 93.
——— ———, Lord, character of the writtings of, 371.
Classical knowledge, state of, in the 11th century, 100.
Clergy, canons passed for the reformation of, in the 8th century, 45; slaughter and sale of the, by the Danes, *ib.*; their vast possessions in the 10th century, 46; celibacy of, 95; money extorted from, by Henry III., 136; state of the secular, in the 13th century, 148; character of, *temp.* Edward IV., 157.; benefit of, release from punishment by, 231. 236; visitation of, under Elizabeth, 251; ejected from their livings, *temp.* Elizabeth, 254; convocation of, under James I., 339; Scottish, disputes of, with James I., 341. (*See* Church.)
Clerkenwell, house of the Knights Hospitallers at, 96.
Cliff, near Rochester, synod held at in 747, 45.
Clocks or Horloges, 175.
Cloths, woollen and linen, 61. 176. 181; foreign enactments concerning, 196; woollen, manufacture of, in the 16th century, 277.
Clubs and coffee-houses, 440.
Coaches, introduction of, 313; coach, *temp.* Charles II., 441; hackney and stage, introduction of, 414., 436.
Coal, use of, 124; trade, 198; duty on, in the 17th century, 332.
Coal, prejudices against the use of, 391; its employment in the arts, *ib.*
Cock-fighting and throwing at cocks, 128. 315. 317.
Coffee, introduction of, 403, 404; houses and clubs, 440.
Coffins, custom of interment in, 76. 130; stone of the Normans, 109.
Coiners and forgers, laws against, 227.
Coins of the ancient Britons, 21; of the Saxons, 70; of William and the early Norman kings, 123; of Henry III., Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., 200, 201; of the 15th century, 205; of Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII., 293, 294, 295; of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 295; of the Commonwealth, 387. 412, 413; of James I., and Charles I., 411; of Charles II., James II., 413; machinery for coining, *ib.*
Coke, Legal Commentaries of, 233.
Colchester, trade of, under Edward III., 199.; value of a tradesman's stock in, *ib.*
Collieries, the, in the 15th century, 182.
Cologne, merchants of, 198.
Columbanus, St., writings of, 49.
Columbus, discovery of America by, 286.
Comines, Philip de, French historian, 168.
Commerce, Anglo-Saxon, 66; first commercial treaty, 68; English, progress of, in the 12th century, 120; in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, 195—204; in the 16th century, 285; progress of in the 17th century, 399, *et seq.*; after the Revolution, 444.
Commission, court of, high, 227. 325. 346.
Commons, House of, influence of, under Richard II. and Henry IV., 135.
Communion table at Sunningwell, 271.
Companies, incorporation of city, 199;

the Russia, Steelyard, merchant-adventurers, 288, 289. 404; merchants of the staple, 289; Eastland merchants, 293; East India, 292 ; trade of, 400. 403. 409.
Company, Levant or Turkey, 403; Merchant adventurers, 404 ; Russia, 405; London or South Virginia, 406; Plymouth, *ib.*
Compass, mariner's, 192.
Conchology, science of, 378.
Congreve, plays of, 364.
Conquest, English, character of the, 87.
Constable, office of "Comes Stabuli," or, 81.
Constance, council of, 153.
Constantine the Great, conversion of, 11.
Cookery of 17th century, 429. (*See* Meals.)
Copyhold estates, 137.
Coracles or boats of the ancient Britons, 18.
Corn, exportation of, from Britain, by the Romans, 20; cultivation of, under the Anglo-Saxons, 68 ; laws of Richard I., prohibiting the exportation of, 121. 123 ; exportation of, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 198 ; in the 15th century, 206 ; average quantity per acre, 207 ; laws concerning exports and imports of, in the 16th century, 298; duties on, in the 17th century, 419.
Cornwall, its trade in tin, 20 ; ancient British language in, 50 ; revenues of duchy of, 229.
Coroner, office of, 232.
Costume of the Gauls and Britons, 24 ; of the Anglo-Saxon period, 73. 125; of the Norman period, 125, 126 ; of the 15th century, 208 ; ladies' costume and head-dresses *temp.* Henry III. and Edward I., 209 ; lawyers' 210 ; ecclesiastical, *ib.* ; male and female, *temp.* Edward III., 211 ; *temp.* Richard II., 212 ; *temp.* Henry IV. and V., 216 ; *temp.* Henry VI., Richard III., Edward IV., and Henry VII., 217, 218 ; of the 16th century, 301 ; ladies' head-dresses of 16th century, *ib.* ; male and female costume, 301—306 ; of apprentices, 302; of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., 423—425. 428; Charles I., 426 ; Charles II. and James II., 438, 439.
Council of Constance, 152 ; of Basil, 153 ; of Clarendon, 93 ; privy, in 14th century, 134.
Count, earl, or alderman, his duties, 35.
County or shire, a territorial division of the country by the Saxons, 35.
Covenanters, merciless slaughter of, 356.
Coventry, timber-built houses at, 180.
Coverdale, Miles, translation of the Scriptures by, 242.
Cowley, poetry of, 364, 365.
Cows, value of, in 1185, 123.
Cranmer, Archbishop, 239 ; Bible of, 242.
Credence table, 271.
Cromlechs of the Britons, 9.
Cromwell, Thomas, vicar-general of Henry VIII., 240 ; spoliation and destruction by, 244.
——, Oliver, legislation and foreign policy of, 325 ; his toleration, 349 ; taste of, for the fine arts, 384.
Crosby Hall, 180.
Cross-bow, use of the, 218.
Crosses — Charing, Cheapside, and Paul's, destruction of, 348.
Crowne, plays of, 364.
Croyland, nadir or planetary table destroyed by fire at, 100.
Crusades, the, 96. 116 ; against the Jews, 149 ; against the Hussites of Bohemia, 156.
Cudworth's "Intellectual System of the Universe," 372.
Cumberland, ancient British language in, 50.
Cunobeline, the coinage of, 22.
Currency, depreciation of, 293. (*See* Coins.)
Curfew, the, 128.
Customs duties of the 14th century, 137 ; in the 17th century, 331.
"Cut-purses," 434.

D.

Dancing, of the Anglo-Saxons, 74; of the Anglo-Normans, 129; sword dance, *ib.* ; at the tournament, 215 ; "dance of fools," 221, 222 ; of the 16th century, 315.
Danegelt, tax of, 31.
Danes, inroads of the, 51 ; armour of the, 63.
Daniel's "History of England," 368.
Davenant, Sir W., operas of, 363 ; moveable scenery of the theatre introduced by, 442.

Davies, Sir John, poem of "Nosce Teipsum" by, 365.
Decker, plays of, 362.
Denham, Sir John, the "Cooper's Hill," of, 365.
Dinner tables and parties of the 14th century, 213. 219.
Domesday Book, 87; specimen of, 88; labourers enumerated in, 123.
Dominican or Black Friars, 147.
Donne, Dr., poems, &c., of, 365.
Dover Castle, church in, 55.
Drake, Sir Francis, 291.
Drama, early English, religious plays, 129. 308. 358 (*see* Miracles, Mysteries, Moralities); dramatic representations and performers of the 16th century, 265. 308. 358; comedy of "Ralph Roister Doister," and of "Gammer Gurton's Needle," *ib.*; interludes of John Heywood, *ib.*; the "Misogonus," *ib.*; "Kynge Johan," 359; "Tom Tiler and his Wife," *ib.*; "Conflict of Conscience," *ib.*; tragedy of "Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex," *ib.*; Peele's "Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe," *ib.*; plays of Edwards, Marlow, Lyly, Kyd, and Lodge, 360; plays of Shakspere, 361; of Chapman, *ib.*; Webster, Middleton, Decker, Marston, Tailor, Tourneur, Rowley, Heywood, Beaumont and Fletcher, 362; Ben Jonson, Massenger, Ford, Shirley, *ib.*; theatres in London and Southwark, 363, 364; operas of Sir W. Davenant, 363; plays after the Restoration, 364; dramatic poets of the time of Shakspere, *ib.*; drama in the reign of Charles II., 442; character of the theatres, *ib.*; moveable scenery, *ib.*
Druids, the, influence and authority of, 3; their religious system, 7; their temples and monuments, 8; origin of, 9; their learning, 13.
Drummond of Hawthornden, poetry of, 366.
Drunkenness, statutes against, 312.
Dryden, John, plays of, 364; poems of, 370.
Duelling, practice of, in the 17th century, 394. 396.
Duke, the first English, 143.
Dunbar, the "Chaucer" of Scotland, 264.
Dunstan, St., influence of, 46; celebrated as a smith and engraver, 60.
Durham, Simeon of, 103.
Duties, import, under the Saxons, 68; import and export, of the 15th century, 136; on woad or dye stuff in 1213, 112.
Dyeing, art of, in the 13th century, 112; progress of, in the 16th century, 277; in the 17th century, 390.
Dyer, legal commentaries of, 233.

E.

Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 51.
Eadmer of Canterbury, 103.
Earl, title of, 143.
Earl's Barton, in Northamptonshire, church of, 56.
Easter, customs at, 317.
Economy, political, science of, 409.
Edda, the, of the Scandinavians, 40.
Edinburgh, University of, 258.
Education of the 17th century, 431; female, 432.
Edward the Elder, 52.
——— the Confessor, great seal of, 30.
——— I., state of the law under, 139; the punishment of *peine forte et dure*, *ib.*
——— IV., his mode of raising money, 137.
——— VI., revenue of, 228; foundation of the Protestant church under, 246; musical establishment of, 276
Egbert, King of Wessex, the various sovereignties of England united under, 31.
Egbert, Archbishop of York, 51.
Elizabeth, Queen, popularity of, 227; statute of, against those who practised enchantments, &c., 232; church of England under, 250; artists under, 275; her skill in music, 277; popular homage to, 306; her progresses, 307. 313; household expenditure of, 429.
Elyot, Sir Thomas, Latin and English dictionary of, 262.
Embroidery of the Anglo-Saxons, 59.
Enamelled gold ring of Ethelwulf, 61.
Enchantments, severe enactments relating to, 232. 248. 257. 357.
England. — *British Period.* ——— to A. D. 449, 1; Celtic origin of the Britons, 1; Ireland, 2; Scotland, *ib.*; Wales, *ib.*; Roman invasion, 4; divisions of Britain, 5; revenues, 6; religion, 7; Druidism, *ib.*; introduction of Christianity, 10; learning and arts, 13; naval and military affairs, 17; commerce and agriculture, 20; coinage,

21; manners and customs, 23; costume, 24.

Saxon Period. — A. D. 449—1066, 27; supposed origin of the word Saxon, *ib.*; form of government in Britain, 29; duties of the sovereign, 30; revenues, *ib.*; taxes, 31; Witenagemote, 32; division of castes, 33; division of lands, 34, 35; acquisitions by conquest, 34; wapentakes, 35; dignity of count, earl, or alderman, *ib.*; territorial division of the country into counties or shires, rapes or lathes, hundreds, tithings, and wapentakes, *ib.*; frank or free pledge, *ib.*; burghs, parishes, villages, hamlets, 36; the clergy, *ib.*; oaths, *ib.*; laws, ordeal, *ib.*; religion, 38. 40; introduction of Christianity, 41; learning and arts, 48; language, *ib.*; popular ignorance, *ib.*; Saxon chronicle, 52; literature, *ib.*; architecture, illuminated books, 57, 58; musical instruments, 59; naval and military affairs, 62; commerce and agriculture, 66; money, 70; manners and customs, costume, 71; meals, 72; excessive drinking, 74; sports, 75; treatment of women, *ib.*; burials, 76.

Norman Period.—A. D. 1066—1216, 77; political institutions, *ib.*; feudal system, 78; council of the realm, 80; officers of state, 81; courts of law, 82; revenues of the Anglo-Norman kings, 85; taxes, 86; royal chase, 88; religion, 90; ecclesiastical contests, 92; crusades, 94. 96; learning and arts, 97; universities, 98; theology, 99; classical knowledge, 100; mathematics. medicine, 101; language, 102; architecture, 103, *et seq.*; monuments, 109; church music, 110; naval and military affairs, 113; armour, 63. 113; heraldry, 116; tournaments, 117; ships, 118; commerce and agriculture, 120; coins, 122; manners and customs, 125; costume, 126; meals, 128; sports, *ib.*; burial of the dead, 129.

Early English Period. — A. D. 1216—1483, 131; political institutions, *ib.*; amalgamation of the Saxon and Norman races, *ib.*; form of government, *ib.*; parliament, 131—141; royal revenue, 136; taxation, *ib.*; condition of the people, 137. 220, 221; customs duties, 136; English pauperism, 138; laws, 139. 196; law books, 140; law courts and officers, *ib.*; English nobility and titles, 143. 145, 146; religion, 144; state of the English church, 145—157; monasteries, 147; crusades, 149, 156; learning, arts and sciences, 158. 160; chronicles and histories, 160. 168; language in the 13th and 14th centuries, 161. 168; poetry, 162; universities, 164; printing, 165; medicine and surgery, 167; architecture, 170. 176. 180; sculpture, 173; monuments, 173. 179; arts and manufacture, 175. 179, 180. 182; armour and weapons, 183—190; naval and military affairs, 183. 194; commerce and agriculture, 194—204; coinage, 199. 205; banks, 202; costume, 208. 216; sports and pastimes, 215. 221, 222; mysteries and moralities, 215. 220; arts and agriculture, 206. 208; English manners, 222.

Middle English Period. — A. D. 1483—1603, 224; political institutions, *ib.*; the Star Chamber, 226; royal prerogative, *ib.*; Court of High Commission, 227; crown revenues, 228; rise of the middle classes, 229; criminal law, 230; game laws, 231; privilege of sanctuary, 232; laws of England, 233; history of religion, 235, *et seq.*; the Reformation, 238, *et seq.*; translations of the Scriptures, 242. 251; destruction of images, relics, &c., 244; liturgy, 247. 252; burnings in Smithfield, 249. 256; the Puritans, 254; Non-conformists, 256; learning and the arts, 258; colleges and schools, *ib.*; classical learning, *ib.*; specimens of the English language, 260; English literature, 262; science, 266; ecclesiastical and domestic architecture, 266. 272; painting and sculpture, 274, 275; music, 276; manufactures, 277, 278; naval and military affairs, 279. 284; armour and weapons, 279; commerce and agriculture, 285. 295; voyages of discovery, 285, *et seq.*; foreign trade, 288; depreciation of the currency, 294; condition of the people, 295; pauperism, 296; poor law of Elizabeth, 297; provisions, 298; gardening, 299; manners and customs, 300; costume, 301, *et seq.*; retainers of the nobility, 306; pageants, 307; drama, 308; wines, beer, &c., 311; drunkenness, 312; needlework, *ib.*; travelling, 313; sports, 314; festivals, 315—319.

Later English Period. — A. D. 1603—1689, 320; political institutions, *ib.*; pretensions of royalty, 321; taxation and monopolies, 322; trial and execution of Charles I., 324; Cromwell, *ib.*; the Restoration, 325; parliamentary representation, 327; application of torture to criminals, 329; national revenue, 331; religion, 334; Puritanism, 338, *et seq.*; Presbyterianism in Scotland, 341, *et seq.*; the liturgy, 345; Independents and Erastians, 348; New England colonists, 350; Quakers, 351; Savoy conference, 353; superstition, 357; learning and arts, 358; the drama, *ib. et seq.*; London theatres, 363; poetry, 364; theology, 366; newspapers, 368; prose writers, 371; science, 373, *et seq.*; architecture, 378, *et seq.*; sculpture and painting, 382, 383, *et seq.*; engraving, 385; music, 387; manufactures, 391; naval and military affairs, 393; duelling, 394. 396; ships, 396; commerce, 399; East India Company, 401; North American Colonies, 406; the coinage, 411; travelling, 415; post office, *ib.*; increased population, 417; agriculture, 419; condition of the people, 420; pauperism, 421; manners and customs, 423; costume, *ib. et seq.*; masques, 427; education and public schools, 431; sports and games, 436; the Revolution, 443.

England, Daniel's history of, 368; Chronicles of Baker, Grafton, Hall, Holinshed, Stow, Speed, *ib.*; merchants of, or "merchants of the staple," 198; New, the Puritan colonists of, 350.

English, Gilbert, medical writer, 159.

Engraving, introduction and progress of, 385—387.

Engrossing and forestalling, laws against, 197.

Episcopacy, abolition of, 348; re-establishment of, 352.

Erasmus, Greek lectures of, at Cambridge, 259.

Erastus, a German divine, 348.

Erigena, Joannes, 51.

Essex, or kingdom of the East-Saxons, 28.

Ethelred the Unready, state of the navy under, 65.

——— commercial enactments of, 68.

Ethelwulf, enamelled ring of, 61.

Etheridge, plays of, 364.

Eton Montem, 431.

Euclid's Elements, translations of, 267.

"Euphues" of John Lyly, 263.

"Evil May Day," 278.

Exchange, Royal, erection of, 290.

Excise laws, 332.

Executions, public, under Henry VIII., 235. 237. 240. (*See* Smithfield.)

Exeter, Joseph of, Latin poem of, 102.

Exports from Britain, 21; of the Anglo-Saxons, 68; of the 12th century, 121; of the 13th and 14th centuries, 197; amount of, in 1613, 399; of corn, forbidden in 1534, 298; of Specie, 409. (*See* Corn, Wool, &c.)

F.

Fairfax, translator of Tasso, 365.

Fairs of the Anglo-Saxons, 69; of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, 293; at Westminster, established by Henry III., 195; herring fair at Yarmouth. 182.

Faithorne, William, engraver, 387.

Famines in England, 67. 124. 201.

Fanshaw, Sir Richard, 365; his translations of the "Pastor Fido" and the "Lusiad," *ib.*

Farming, Anglo-Saxon, 66. (*See* Agriculture.)

Farquhar, plays of, 364.

Feud or fief, origin of the term, 34.

Feudal estates, 35; system, 77.

Fines, statute of, 225.

Fire-dogs and fire-screens, 176.

Fire, Greek, the, 119.

—— of London, 417.

Fisheries, northern, 405; mode of fishing in 1617, *ib.*

Fishery, cod, of Newfoundland, 288; whale, 293; fishery at Sutton Coldfield in 1453, 182.

Fitz Stephen's account of the commerce of London, 120.

Flemings, the, settled in Wales by Henry I., 120; trade with the, 203.

Fletcher, Giles, poet, 364.

———, Phineas, "Purple Island" of, 364.

Flute, double, of the Anglo-Saxons, 74.

Font at Bridekirk, Runic characters on the, 48; Norman, at Drayton, Norfolk, 107; at Ingworth church, Norfolk, 172.

Fontevraud, tomb of Berengaria, queen of Richard I. at, 127.

Fools at court, 222; dance of, 129.

Ford, plays of, 362.
Forest laws of the Norman, 88.
Forestalling, laws against, 197.
Forgers and coiners, laws against, 227.
Forks, introduction of, 176; silver, *temp.* 1610., 429.
Fox the Martyrologist, 256.
——, George, founder of the Society of Friends, 351.
Franciscan or Grey Friars, 147; nunneries and nuns, 148.
Frank or Free pledge, 36.
Franks, original language of, 161.
Friars, Dominican, 147; Franciscan, *ib.*; Mendicant, *ib.*; Carmelite, *ib.*; Augustine, *ib.*
Frobisher, Martin, 291.
Fruit and vegetables, introduction of, and trade in, 199. 299. 419.
Fuller, works of, 366.
Furniture, household of the Norman period, 125; of the 13th and 14th centuries, 208; of the 15th century, 300; of the 16th century, 310; of the 17th, century, 423; style of, after the Restoration, 437.

G.

Gaelic language, 2.
Gambling, statute of Henry VIII. against, 231; practice of, in the 17th century, 431.
Game laws under Henry VII., 231.
Gardens, orchards, and vineyards of England, 67, 124; state of horticulture in the 15th century, 207; in the 16th century, 299; in the 17th century, 419.
Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, 244.
Garter, Order of the, 187.
Gauls, costume of the, 24.
Genoese, trade with the, in the 14th century, 199; in the 15th century, 203.
Geography, study of, 160.
Geology, progress of, 378.
Gibbons, Grinling, sculptor, 383.
Gildas, writings of, 49.
Giles's, St., Oxford, early English window of, 170.
Glass, windows of, in use before the time of Alfred, 56; paintings on, 174. 181. 208; manufacture and improvement of, in the 17th century, 391.
Gloucester celebrated for its wine, 121. 124; Robert of, "Chronicle" of, 163;
——— Humphrey, duke of, his patronage of learning, 167.
Gloves, Anglo-Saxon, 73; perfumed, 305. (*See* Costume.)
"Golden Legend," 386.
Gorboduc, tragedy, by Sackville, earl of Dorset, 262. 359.
Gothic or Teutonic race, 1. 27.
Gower, poetry of, 164.
Grafton's Chronicles, 368.
Gratian, "Decretum" of, 145.
Greaves, his account of the pyramids of Egypt, 374.
Greek, study of, in the 16th century, 259; in the 17th century, 369.
——— fire, in the 11th century, 119.
Greenwich observatory, 377.
Gregorian chaunt in church music, 60.
Gregory the Great, Pope, 41.
——— VII., demands of, 91.
——— IX., amount of money extracted from England by, 145.
———, James, inventor of the reflecting telescope, 377.
Gresham, Sir Thomas, 290.
Grostête, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, 159.
Gunpowder, discovery of, 158; manufacture of, 182; export of, 202.
————, improvement in the manufacture of, under Elizabeth, 281.
———— plot, enactments against the Catholics in consequence of, 338.
Guns and gunpowder manufacture of, 182; export of, 202. (*See* Armour and Weapons.)
Gypsies, statute of Henry VIII. against, 231.

H.

Habeas corpus act, 330.
Hair, mode of wearing among the Saxons and Normans, 125, 126; customs as to the wearing of, in the 14th and 15th centuries, 211. 213. 216, 217; in the 16th century, 301, 305; in the 17th century, 432. 438.
Hales, Alexander de, 158.
Halifax, increase of the cloth trade at, in the 17th century, 418.
Hall, bishop of Norwich, 366.
Hall's Chronicles, 368.
Halley, Edmund, astronomer, 378.
Hanaper, office, origin of the term, 176.
Harold, coronation of, 31.
Harquebus, derivation of the, 190. (*See* Armour.)
Harrington's political romance of "Oceana," 367.

Harriot, Thomas, discoveries of, 373.
Hats and caps. (*See* Costume.)
Hatton, Sir Christopher, 315.
Hawking, sport of, 128. 214. 314.
Head dresses, in the 16th century, 301. (*See* Costume.)
Helmets. (*See* Armour.)
Hende, John, merchant of London, 204.
Hengist and Horsa, 28.
Henry I., settlement of the Flemings in Wales by, 120.
——— II., laws passed by, at Clarendon, 83; contest of, with the Pope, 94.
——— III., fair instituted by, at Westminster, 195.
——— IV., execution of Archbishop Scrope by, 153; his justification to the Pope, *ib.*
——— VII., rapacity and wealth of, 228; Bacon's history of, 368.
——— VIII., officers of state under, 230; state of the criminal law under, *ib.*; statutes of, 231; collection of pictures by, 275; title of Defender of the Faith granted to, by Leo X., 238; his passion for Anne Boleyn, *ib.*; suit of armour presented by the Emperor Maximilian to, 280.
Heptarchy, the, or seven great divisions of Britain, 28.
Heraldry, science of, 116; insignia of, 177.
Hertford, council held at, in 673, 44.
Heywood, John, epigrammatist, 264.
———, dramas of, 358.
Highwaymen of the 17th century, 434.
Highways, enactments in the 14th century concerning, 142; statutes in the 16th century for repair of, 287. 289; act in 1663 for repairing, 416.
Hippocras, 214. 220. n.
Historians, English, 168.
Histories and Chronicles, 160; Matthew Paris's, *ib.*
"Histrio-Mastix," by Prynne, 346.
Hobbes of Malmesbury, writings of, 371.
Hogs, value of, in 1185, 123.
Holbein, Hans, 275.
Holinshed's Chronicles, 368.
Hollar, the engraver, 386.
Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," character of, 255. 264.
Hop, introduction of the, 299.
Horn of Ulphus, 60.
Horrocks, Samuel, the astronomer, 373.
Horse-racing of the Norman period, 128; in the 16th century, 314; in the 17th century, 437.
Horses, exportation of, by the Anglo-Saxons, 69; practice of shoeing with iron introduced, 111; baiting of, under the Normans, 129; value of in 1205, 123.
Hospitality, civic, 311.
Houses of the Anglo-Saxons, 57; of the 13th and 14th centuries, 175; of brick, 179; of wood, 180; decorations of, 208. (*See* Architecture.)
"Hudibras," Butler's poem of, 370.
Hundred, a territorial division of the country by the Saxons, 35.
Hunne, Richard, dead body of, burned in Smithfield, 237.
Hunting in the 14th century, 214.
Husbandman, condition of, in the 16th century, 295.
Husbandry, Tusser's poem on, 298.

I.

Ichthyology, study of, 378.
Illuminated manuscripts, 110.
Illuminations of the Anglo-Saxons, 57; Athelstan's Psalter, *ib.*
Importation, restrictions on, 205; exemption in favour of books and printing, *ib.*
Imports and exports of the Britons, 21; under Henry II., 121; imports in the 13th and 14th centuries, 198; under James I., 399.
Ina of Wessex, founder of a house at Rome for English pilgrims, &c., 45; laws of, 67.
Incorporations of artificers, 112.
Independents, the, or Brownists, 255; or Congregationalists, 340.
India, passage to, by the Cape of Good Hope, 285, 286; expedition of Frobisher, 291.
—— trade, 292.
Indies, West, colonisation of, 407.
Ingulphus' description of a planetary system, or nadir, formed of various metals, 100.
Ingworth church, decorated font in, 172.
Inns of court, 140.
Inquisition, the, 148.
Interest on money in 1624, 410.
Interludes, or religious plays, 245. (*See* Mysteries and Moralities.)
Investitures, ecclesiastical, contests concerning, 92.

Ireland, early history of, 2; its ancient name of Scotia — language, *ib.*; Ogham or Ogma characters, 13; round towers, 14; retirement of the English to, for study and devotion, in the time of Bede, 49; commerce of, in the 15th century, 205; George Brown, first protestant archbishop of, 257; restoration of episcopacy in, 357; treatment of the protestants in, under James I., *ib.*; incorporation of, with England, 444.
Iron, manufacture of, in England, 278. 391, 392.
Islands, West India, colonisation of, 407.

J.

James I. of Scotland, poems of, 167.
——— of England, notions of, on the divine right of kings, 321; household expenditure of, 429.
——— II., state of the revenue under, 333.
Jerusalem, pilgrimages to, in the 4th century, 12.
Jesuits, laws against, in the 16th century, 252; disguises assumed by, in the 17th century, 434.
Jews, settlement of, in England, in the 12th century, 120; money extorted from, by Henry III., 136.
John, King, Magna Charta of, 84; contest of, with the Pope, 94; tomb of, at Worcester, 109, 110; charters of, to the Jews, 120.
Jones, Inigo, architectural works of, 378.
Jonson, Ben, plays of, 362.
Justing at tournaments, 117. 188.
Jutes, the, kingdom of Kent founded by, 28.

K.

Kent, the kingdom of, founded by the Jutes, 28; original British name of, *ib.*
King, etymology of the word, 29.
" King's evil," practice of " touching " for, 442.
Kirk-scot, or church-tax of the Saxons, 44.
Knife, girdle, *temp.* 1610, 429.
Knight, not a term of honour till the Conquest, 33.
Knighthood, ceremonies of, 115.
Knights Hospitallers of St. John, 96.
——— Templars, 96; suppression of, 148.
Knolles' History of the Turks, 368.
Knox, John, the Reformer, 257.

L.

Labourers, ordinance of, enacted in 1349, 138.
Ladbrook church, Warwickshire, window at, 268.
Lancaster, Duchy of, revenues of, 229.
Land, divisions of, by the Saxons, 34.; value of, under the Anglo-Saxons, 66; cultivation of church lands, *ib.*; rent of, fixed by the laws of King Ina, 67; estates granted to the followers of the Conqueror, 86; rent of, in the 13th century, 201; in the 15th century, 207; improved cultivation of, in the 17th century, 418; rise in value of, 419.
Landed property, statute of fines, 225; statute of Mortmain, 146.
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 90.
Langland's poem of " Piers Ploughman's Vision," 163.
Language, Gaelic, 2; Irish, 2—13; Welsh, 2; ancient British, 48; Anglo-Saxon, 48. 101. 162; specimen of, 103; substitution of French, 101; Latin the chief language of literary composition, 102; Norman French, 161; dialects, *ib.*; Langue d'oc, romance, or provençal, *ib.*; Latin and Greek, 168; English variations in the orthography of, *ib.*; progress of, 260.
Lambert burned for denying transubstantiation, 244.
Lambeth palace, Lollards' tower at, 155.
Lateran, third council of, 98.
Lathe, a territorial division of the country by the Saxons, 35.
Latimer, Bishop, 243; his sermon at Smithfield over the burning body of Forest, 244; his sermon before Edward VI., 262.
Latin language, 102; poets of the 12th century, *ib.*; the common language of the learned in the 13th and 14th centuries, 160; historians of England, 168; works written in, in the 17th century, 369.
Laud, impeachment of, 323; execution of, 347.

Laws of the ancient Britons, 25; Anglo-Saxon, 37; codes of Lothaire and Edric, of Wihtræd, *ib.*; of Alfred, of Ina, of Edward the Elder, Athelstane, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, Canute, 38; Latin, of Edward the Confessor, *ib.*; ordeal, wager of battle, 38. 83; trial by jury, 39. 82; punishments and fines, 38; administration of, after the Norman conquest, 82; courts of, *ib.*; forest laws, 88; study of, in the 12th century, 101; English, under Edward I., 139; Edward III., 142; spiritual courts, 149; canon law, 101. 145; law books and inns of courts, 140, 141. 233; statutes drawn up in English at the commencement of the reign of Richard III., 233; law reports, *ib.*; year books, *ib.*; commentaries of Bacon, Coke, Dyer, Plowden and Staunforde, 233; state of criminal law under Henry VIII., 230; abolition of torture, 328 (*see* Torture); sale of criminals, 329; legal enactments in the 17th century, 330; abolition of the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, 331; habeas corpus act, 330; corn laws (*see* Corn); statutes against drunkenness, 312; game laws under Henry VII., 231; law of marriage settlements, 328; statute of Mortmain, 146; navigation laws, 289. 408; poor law of Elizabeth, 297; usury laws, 287, 288; laws against Roman Catholics, 338; ecclesiastical laws under James I., 340; act of uniformity, 354; test act, 355; bill of rights and act of settlement, 444.
Learning of the ancient Britons, 13; of the Anglo-Saxons, 51; progress of, in the 12th century, 97; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 158; in the 15th century, 167; in the 16th century, 258. 358; in the 17th century, 358.
Leather hangings for walls, 423.
Lee, plays of, 364.
Leicester, St. Mary's church, timber roof of, 178.
Leighton's "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," 346; punishment of the author, *ib.*
Levant, the trade with, 287.
Linen, manufacture in the 16th century, 277; in the 17th century, 391.
Literature, English prose in the 16th century, 262.
Lithotomy, operation of, in the 15th century, 167.
Liturgy, British, 12; alterations in, under James I., 337; revision of, in 1661, 353.
Liverpool, description of, in the 17th century, 418.
Logarithms, discovery of, 373.
Logic, study of, in the 12th century, 99; logical disputations of the 13th and 14th centuries, 158.
Lollhard, Walter, burnt at Cologne in 1322, 154.
Lollards, the, persecution of, 154, 155; origin of the name, *ib.*
Lombard, Peter, "Book of Sentences" of, 100.
Lombardic style of writing, 103.
London, municipal privileges conferred on, 5; incorporation of the companies of, 199; mercers', drapers', and haberdashers' shops in, *ib.*; amusements of the citizens of, 222; population of, 417; streets of, 416, 417; filthy state of, previous to the great fire, *ib.*; state of, in the 17th century, 435; state of, at night, *temp.* Charles II., 441.
——— Stone, 16.
Long Wittenham church, Piscina, and tomb at, 270.
Longchamp, William, retinue of, 127.
Lord Mayor's privilege of hunting, 437.
Lully, Raymond, 159.
Luther, Martin, 238.
Lydgate, works of, 167; specimen of, *ib.*
Lyly, John, the "Euphues" of, 263.

M.

Machecoulis, or contrivance for throwing missiles, 174.
Machinery, progress of, 111.
Madrigals, 276.
Mæatæ, the, description of, 23.
Magalhaens, voyage of, 291.
Magic and divination taught by the ancient Britons, 15.
Malmesbury, William, of, 103.
Malmsey wine, importation of, 205.
Malvern Church, Great, painted glass in, 181.
Mandeville, Sir John, travels of, 160; extract from, 164.
Manners and customs of the ancient Britons, 23; Anglo-Saxons, 73; of the Normans, 125; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 208; of the 15th and 16th centuries, 300; of the 17th

century, 423; after the Revolution, 444.
Mannyng, Robert, Chronicle of, 163.
Manorial courts and customs of the 14th century, 202.
Manures, agricultural, of the Normans, 123; of the 16th century, 298.
Manuscripts, illuminated, 110. 180.
Map engraving, 386.
Marlow, plays of, 360.
Marquis, creation of the first, in 1439, 143.
Marston, plays of, 362.
Marvell, Andrew, poetry of, 365.
Mary, Queen, revenue of, 228; persecutions under, 249.
Masquerades, introduction of, in the reign of Henry VII., 308.
Masques and pageants under James I., 426, 427.
Mass, derivation of the word, 47.
Massinger, plays of, 362.
Mathematics, study of, in the 12th century, 100: in the 14th century, 158; in the 16th century, 266; in the 17th century, 373. 376.
Matrimony, regulations concerning, among the Britons, 25.
Maunday Thursday, customs on, 317.
May-day, customs on, 316. 443.
Meals of the Anglo-Saxons, 74. 127; of the Normans, 128; description of, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 213. 219; in the 16th century, 310.
Mechanical science, discoveries in, 376.
Medicine, study of, under the Britons, 13; in the 12th century, 101; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 159; in the 15th century, 167; in the 16th century, 266; in the 17th century, 374.
Mercia, kingdom of, 29.
Merchant-adventurers, company of, 288.
Merchants and tradesmen of London, estimation of, by the nobility, 432.
Metals of the Britons, trade in with the Phœnicians, 20; exports of, under the Saxons, 68; manufactures in, of the 11th century, 111; in the 13th century, 176; in the 15th century, 182; in the 16th century, 278; in the 17th century, 392; laws prohibiting the exportation of, 196.
Metaphysics, science of, in the 12th century, 99; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 158; in the 17th century, 371.
Metheglin, a beverage of the Welsh, 311.
Mezzotint engraving, invention of, 387.
Micelgemot, general council, or *great meeting* of the Saxons, 32.
Middle Saxons, district of the, 28.
Middleton, Sir Hugh, 418.
————, plays of, 362.
Midsummer eve, customs on, 316.
Military and naval affairs, among the Britons, 17; under the Saxons, 62; under the Normans, 113; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 183; in the 15th and 16th centuries, 279; in the 17th century, 393; after the Revolution, 444.
Millenarians, or Fifth-monarchy men, 351, 352.
Mills for grinding corn, &c., 67. 110.
Milton, prose works of, 366. 369; poems of, 370.
Ministers, prime, of England, commencement of regular succession of, 227.
Minot, Laurence, poetry of, 163.
Minstrels, profession of, under Edward IV., 181.
Miracles and mysteries, performances of, 129. 215. 220. 308. (*See* Drama.)
Missal, derivation of the word, 47.
Monasteries, foundation of, 146.
Money of the ancient Britons, 22; Anglo-Saxon, 70; value of, 122, 123; coinage of the Norman kings, 123; of the 13th and 14th centuries, 200; of the 16th century, 293; of the 17th century, 411; various modes of raising, by the early English monarchs, 136, 137; trade in lending, 410. (*See* Coins.)
Monks, orders of, 95; profane lives of, 236.
Monopolies, system of, 404.
"Monstrance," or vessel to contain the Host, 271.
Monstrelet, the French historian, 168.
Monuments, Norman, 108; tomb of Berengaria, queen of Richard I., at Fontevraud, 127; sepulchral, of the early English period, 173; brasses, 173, 179.
Moralities, mysteries, and miracle plays, 129. 220. 245. 308.
More, Sir Thomas: his "Dialogue concerning Heresies," 261; his "Life of Edward V.," 262; his musical taste, 276.
——, Sir Antonio, painter, 275.
——, Henry, writings of, 372.
Mortmain, statute of, 146.
Muggletonians, the sect of, 352.

Mulberry trees, proclamation of James I. for planting, 390.
Mummers and mummings, 215. 220, 221.
Music, cultivation of, by the Anglo-Saxons, 59; by the Irish, 60; of the 13th century, 110; musical notation, *ib.*; progress of, in the 15th and 16th centuries, 180; cathedral, 276; popular, 277; in the reign of James I., 387; under Charles I. and Cromwell, 388; Charles II., 389. 442; church music, 388; theatrical, 389; popular songs, 390; national anthem, *ib.*
Mutton, origin of the term, 71.
Mysteries and miracles, performances of, 129. 215. 220. 245. 308. (*See* Drama.)

N.

Napier, Baron, 373.
National debt, 333.
Naval and military affairs, under the Britons, 17; under the Saxons, 62; under the Normans, 113; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 183; in the 15th and 16th centuries, 279; in the 17th century, 393; after the Revolution, 444.
Navigation laws of Richard II., 202, of Elizabeth, 289; of Charles II., 408.
Needlework, hangings of, in the 14th century, 208; in the 16th century, 312. (*See* Embroidery.)
Netherlands, trade with the, 289.
New Year's Day, customs on, 317. 443.
Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norman keep at, 108.
Newspapers, origin of, 369; specimen of the earliest, 368.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 377; his works and discoveries, *ib.*
Nicholas, St. (or Innocents), feast of, 215.
Nobility, English, ranks of, 143; establishments of the, 428.
Noblemen, retinues and attendants of, 127. 213. 218. 306.
Nonconformist clergy, penalties against the, 355.
Nonconformists, act against, 256.
Norbury, John, merchant of London, 204.
Norman rule in England, 77, *et seq.* (*See* England.)
Northallerton, English standard at the battle of, 116.
Northampton, council of, 94.
Northumberland, kingdom of, 29.
Norwich, a Socinian burnt at, 256,
Nottingham castle, painted glass windows in, 174.
Numerals, Arabic, 100, 159.
Nunneries, Franciscan, 148.

O.

Oaths, relative value of, among the Saxons, 36.
Observatory at Greenwich, 377.
Occam, William, scholastic doctor, 158.
"Oceana" of Sir James Harrington, 367.
Odin, the Teutonic deity, 27.
Offa, commercial treaty of, with Charlemagne, 68.
Ogham or Ogma, characters in Ireland, 13.
Oil-cloth, invention of, 437.
Oldcastle, Sir John, 155.
Ordeal, trial by, of the Saxons, 38; combats under Richard II., 188. (*See* Law.)
Ordination of a priest in the 12th century, 111.
Organs, church, 388. (*See* Music.)
Ornithology, science of, 378.
Otway, plays of, 364.
Oulton church Suffolk, monumental brass in, 174.
Oxford university founded or restored by Alfred, 52; character of, in the reign of Richard I., 98; colleges of, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 160, 164; new schools of Thomas Hokenorton, 165; colleges added between 1511, and 1571, 258; dissoluteness of the students in the 17th century, 432; synod of, against heretics, 96.

P.

Padua, John, of, 273.
Pageants in reign of Elizabeth, 307.
Painting on glass, 174. 181. 208; on church walls, 272; of the 16th century, 274, 275; progress in after the Restoration, 385; artists under Charles I. and Charles II., 384, 385.
Pall-mall, game of, 436.
Palm Sunday, customs on, 317.
Palmers of the 12th century, 96; origin of the term, *ib.*
Papacy, contest for the, in the 15th century, 152.

Paper, introduction of, 101; improvement in the manufacture of writing paper, 391.
—— hangings, 423.
Parishes, division of the country into, 36. present number of, *ib.*
Parliament or council of the realm of the Normans, 80.
————, origin of the word, 131; its history and progress, 132. 141; the Long, of the 17th century, 322; May's history of the, 368.
Parliamentary representation and grants, in the 17th century, 327; reports, 328.
Passive obedience, doctrine of, 355.
Pastimes. (*See* Sports.)
Patches on the face, custom of wearing, 432.
Paul's Cross, St., preaching at, 336; cathedral, Wren's plan for rebuilding, 380; aisle of, place of resort in the 17th century, 435.
Pauperism, rise of, 138.
————, laws concerning, 421; poor-rates in 1673, 422.
" Pax-table," the, 270.
Peacock or Pocock, Reginald, bishop of Chichester, 155.
Pecunia, origin of the Latin word, 71.
Pelagianism, tenets of, 11.
Penny, silver, of Offa, 70; of William I., 122. (*See* Coins.)
People, condition of the, under the early English monarchs, 137; diet of the, 220; amusements of the, 221; pauperism of the, 138; rise of the middle class, 229; condition of servants and husbandmen, 295; improvement in the condition of, 420. (*See* England.)
Periwigs, introduction of, 438.
" Peter Pence," 45. 91.
" Petition of right," 322.
" Philosophical Transactions" of the Royal Society, 375.
Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall, church of, 55.
Phœnicians, ancient commerce with, 20.
Pick-pockets, 434.
" Piers Ploughman's Vision," 163.
Pilgrimages — to Jerusalem, 12; to Rome, 44; to Becket's shrine, Rome, Loretto, and the Holy Land, 95; to Rome and Jerusalem, 156.
Pins, manufacture of, 278.
Piscina in churches, 270, 271.
Pius V., bull of, against Queen Elizabeth, 252; execution of Felton, for nailing it to the Bishop of London's gate, *ib.*
Pix, the, or small box to contain the Host, 271.
Plantagenet, house of, 177.
Plays, Chester, 215. (*See* Drama.)
Plough Monday, customs on, 316.
Plowden, legal commentaries of, 233.
Plymouth in the 17th century, 418.
Poetry of the Saxons, 50; of the 12th century, 102; of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, 162, *et seq.*; of the 16th century, 260; first specimen of English blank verse, 262; character of the poetry of the 16th century, 264; after the Restoration, 364, 365. 370.
Poictiers, William of, 103.
Pole, De la, William, merchant, of Hull, 203.
Political institutions of the Britons, 1; of the Saxons, 27; of the Normans, 77; of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, 131; of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, 224. 320; after the Revolution, 443.
Politics, discussion of, *temp.* Charles II., 440.
Polo, Marco, travels of, 160.
" Polychronicon," Trevisa's translation of Higden's, 164.
" Polyolbion" of Drayton, 364.
Poor-law of Elizabeth, 297. (*See* Law.)
Pope, power of the, in the 13th century, 144; contest of Edward III. with the, 150; statute of præmunire, *ib.*; resistance to the arbitrary power of, 153.
Portugal, trade with, 405.
Posts, public, for the conveyance of intelligence, introduced into England by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 205; establishment of, 332. 415; revenue of, *ib.*
Poundage, customs duty of, 137.
Præmunire, statute of, 150.
Preaching at Paul's Cross, 336.
Prerogative, royal, Blackstone's definition of, 133; state of, under Henry VII., 226; Henry VIII., 120; James I., 321; Charles I. and Charles II., 324, 325.
Presbyterianism in Scotland, 343. 347—356.
Press, the, restrictions on, *temp.* Charles II., 326. 346.
Price-currents, introduction of, 418.
Priest, ordination of, in the 12th century, 111.
Prince, Black, effigy of the, at Canterbury, 185.

Printing, invention of, 165; printer's mark, 166.
Prose, writers of, in the 17th century, 371. *et seq.*
Provisions, laws for the regulation of, 197; prices of, in the 16th century, 297.
Prynne's Histrio-Mastix, 346.
Psalmody of the Saxons, 60.
Psalter of King Athelstan, 57.
Punch and puppet shows, 442.
Punishments, legal, under Edward I., 139. (*See* Law.)
Puritanism, 255, 256.
Puritans, English, 336; conference of, with James I., *ib.*; persecution of, 340; costume of, 440.
Puttenham, "Art of Poesie" of, 263. 303.

Q.

Quadrivium, the, or course of study at the Universities in the 12th century, 99.
Quakers, or Society of Friends, 351; origin of the term, *ib.*
Queenington church, Norman doorway of, 104.
Quintains, the sport of, 117.
Quinzième (a species of tallage levied on merchants), 122.

R.

Races, horse, in Smithfield, in the Norman period, 128.
Rack, the, 329. (*See* Torture.)
Raleigh's "History of the World," 368.
Rape, a territorial division of the country by the Saxons, 35.
Reformation, effects of the, 229; history of, 238.
Regrating, laws against, 197.
Religion of the ancient Britons, 7; government and discipline of the British church, 12; Scandinavian rites, 41; introduction of Christianity into Britain, *ib.*; of the Saxons, 43; of the Normans, 90; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 144; history of, *temp.* Henry VII. and Henry VIII., 235; under Edward VI. 246; Mary, 249; Elizabeth, 250; publications on, 243; religious plays, 245; in the 17th century, 336; after the Revolution, 444.
Religious liberty, first assertion of the principle of, 350.
Rents, rise in, in the 16th century, 296, 297.
Repton, Derbyshire, church of, 55.
Reredos, or screen of tabernacle work, 271.
Revenue, royal, under the Britons, 6; Anglo-Saxons, 30; Anglo-Normans, 85. 87; of the 13th and 14th centuries, 136; under Henry VII., 227; under Edward VI., 228; under Mary, *ib.*; under Elizabeth, *ib.*; James I. and Charles I., 331; Cromwell, 332; Charles II. and James II., 333.
Revolution, the effects of, 443.
Richard I., revenue of, 87; crusades under, 94. 96; laws of, for regulation of trade, 121; burial of, 130.
——— II., influence of the Commons under, 135.
——— III., character of, as a legislator, 141.
Richborough, Roman port of, 21.
Ring of Ethelwulf, 61.
"Ring-dropping," 434.
River, New, 418.
"Roaring boys," of the 17th century, 436.
Romans, invasion of Britain by, 4; exactions of, 6; arts and sciences of, introduced by Agricola, 16; roads of, in England, 69.
Rood, at Boxley, Kent, description of, 244; at Sherbourne church, Dorset, 269.
Roodlofts, 270.
Roof, wooden, St. Mary's, Leicester, 178, 179.
Ropes and cables, manufacture of, 278.
Round table at Windsor, established by Edward III., 187.
Rouse, John, of Warwick, history of the Kings of England by, 168.
Rowley, plays of, 362.
Roy's "Rede me and be not wrothe," 261.
Royal prerogative, notions of James I. on, 321.
Runic characters, 48; specimens of, in England, *ib.*; their alleged magical powers, *ib.*
Rupert, prince, inventions of, 392.
Russia Company, the, 288.
Ryton church, Norman window of, 104.

S.

Sackville, Earl of Dorset, tragedy of Gorboduc by, 262; poems of, 265.

Sadler's Wells, music-house at, 389.
Sail-cloth, manufacture of, 278.
Salisbury, John of, 99, 100.
Salt-cellars, gold and silver, *temp.* K. John, 125.
Salutations, modes of, in the 16th century, 319.
Sanctuary, privilege of, 232; at Whitefriars, 435.
Savoy conference, 353.
Sawtre, William, burnt at Smithfield, 155.
Saxons, arrival of, in England, 28 (*see* England); coronation oath book of the Saxon kings, 58; Saxon language, 49; chronicle, 53; coins, 70. (*See* Coins.)
Scalds, poems of the ancient, 40.
Scandanavia, races of, 2; religion of, 40; the rites of, 41.
Sceatta, Saxon, 70. (*See* Coins.)
Scholastic learning, 98, 99; philosophy, 158; theology, 260. (*See* Metaphysics.)
Schools founded in the 16th century — St. Paul's School, Christ's Hospital, Merchant Taylors', Wolsey's at Ipswich, Westminster, Edinburgh, 258; education and sports at Harrow and Eton, 431.
Science of the Britons, 13; of the Saxons, 49; of the 11th century, 99; of the 13th and 14th centuries, 159; of the 15th century 167; of the 16th century, 266; of the 17th century, 373, *et seq.*
Scotch, on the origin of the, 2.
Scotia, the ancient name of Ireland, 2.
Scotland, early poets of, 164. 167; universities of, 165. 258; commerce of, 205; exertions of John Knox in, 257; poets of, 264; church of, 334; its state under James I., 335; introduction of the English Liturgy in, 344; "League and Covenant," 345; incorporation of, with England, 444.
Scotus, Duns, 158.
"Scowerers," or nightly marauders of the streets of London, 441.
Scriptorium, or room used for transcribing MSS., 101.
Scriptures, translations of the, among the early British Christians, 12; publication of, under Henry VIII., 242; Parker's, or the Bishop's Bible, 251; Coverdale's, at Geneva, *ib.*; translation of, under James I., 338.
Scrofula, or king's evil, court practice of "touching" for, 442.
Scrope, Archbishop, execution of, in 1405, 153.
Sculpture of the Saxons, 57; of the 13th century, 109; of the 14th century, 173; specimen in Wakefield Bridge chapel, *ib.*; in Wells Cathedral, *ib.*; of the 16th century, 274, 275; in the 17th century, 382.
Seal of Edward the Confessor, 30; William the Conqueror, 79; the constable of Chester, 114.
Seax, or short sword of the Saxons, 27. 63.
Sectarianism of the 17th century, 349.
Sedan chairs, introduction of, 414.
Sedilia, in churches, 271.
Seneschal, office of, 81.
Sepulchral monuments of Britons, 26; the early English period, 173; brasses, *ib.*; of the 16th century, 270.
Sermons of the 15th century, 157; of Latimer before Edward VI., 262.
Shakspere, poems of, 265; plays of, 361.
Sharp, Archbishop, torture of "the Boot," employed by, to extort confessions, 356; death of, 357.
Sheen, palace of, 272.
Sheep, value of, under the Anglo-Saxons, 67; in 1185, 123.
Sheriff, or vice-comes, office of, 35.
Shillings, first coinage of, 293. (*See* Coins.)
Ship-money, tax of, 322. 325.
Ships and boats, of the Britons, 19; of the Anglo-Saxons, 64; of William the Conqueror and Richard I., 119; under Henry III., Edward I., Edward III., 193; ship of war of the 15th century, 194; of Henry V. and Edward IV., *ib.*; of Henry VIII., 282; of Elizabeth, 283; James I., Charles I., 396; Charles II., 398.
Shirley, plays of, 362.
Shoes and boots, customs and enactments concerning, 217. (*See* Costume.)
Shrove Tuesday, cock-fighting on, 128; customs on, 317.
Silk trade in the 12th century, 120; in the 14th century, 199; manufacture in the 17th century, 390.
Silkworm, introduction of the, 120.
Simeon, of Durham, 103.
Simon, Thomas, medallist, 387.
Skating, practice of, by the Normans, 117.
Skelton's "Boke of Phylipp Sparowe," 261.

Slave trade, African, 290.
Slaves, or theowes, among the Saxons, 34. 75; exportation of, from England, under the Saxons, 69.
Smithfield, horse-races under the Normans, in, 128; Sawtre and Badby burnt at, 154, 155; executions and burnings in, 235. 237. 244. 249. 256; Arians burned in, by order of James I., 339.
Soap, manufacture of, 277.
Society, Royal, origin of, and early associates, 375
Socinians, tenets of, 11.
Sompting, in Sussex, church of, 54.
" Sortes Virgilianæ," 357.
South, Dr., sermons of, 373.
Southampton, a Roman port, 21; the mart for Oriental goods under Richard II., 199.
Southerne, plays of, 364.
Spain the resort of students in the 11th century, 97; trade with, 405.
Specie, exportation of, 409.
Spenser, poetry of, 265. 365.
Spices, trade in, 199.
Sports of the Anglo-Saxons, 75; of the Normans, 117; pastimes of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, 128, 129. 215. 221; of the 16th and 17th centuries, 221. 314, 315. 436; *temp.* Charles II., 443; at public schools, 431; King James's " Book of," 437.
Spur, rowelled, 184.
SS, collar of, 216.
Standard, English, at the battle of Northallerton, 116.
Staple, merchants of the, 195. 198; statute of the, 196.
Star Chamber, origin of the name, 226; its power, *ib.*, 227; under Charles I., 346; abolished, 325.
Starch, introduction of the use of, 304. 312.
State officers under Henry VIII., 230.
Statute of fines, 225.
Staunforde, legal commentaries of, 233.
Steam engine, invention of, 376.
Steelyard company, the, 288.
Stephen, King, ecclesiastical contests under, 92.
Steward, lord high, office of, 81.
Stigand, Archbishop, 90.
Stillingfleet, Bishop, writings of, 372.
Stocking-frame, invention of, 278.
Stoke Dabernon church, monumental brasses in, 174.
Stonehenge, 14; plan of, restored, *ib.*
Stones, machine for throwing, 191.
Stow's Chronicles, 368.
Strafford, impeachment of, 323.
Superstition, prevalence of, in England under James I., 357.
Supremacy, oath of, 250.
Surgery, study of, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 159; in the 15th century, 167.
Surnames, English, 116.
Surrey, Lord, translation of Virgil by, 262; poetry of, 264.
Sussex, kingdom of, under the Saxons, 28.
Sutton Coldfield, trial of Thornton for rape and murder at, 38; fish-pools of, 182; grammar school of, 240; Burton educated at, 367.
Swearing, profane, practice of, 223. 319. 440.
Sweating sickness, 266. 274.
Swithelm, Bishop of Sherburn, 65.
Sword, instructors in the use of, 281. (*See* Armour and Weapons.)
Sydney, Sir Philip, " Arcadia" of, 263.
Sylvester, Joshua, eminent translator from the French, in the 17th century, 365.
Syria, trade with, 287.

T.

Table cloths and napkins, introduction of, 311.
Tallage, statute of Edward I. concerning, 133.
Tapestry, Bayeux, 31. 125; of Arras, 216; Gobelin, 437.
Target, British, 17. (*See* Armour and Weapons.)
Tattooing, custom of, among the Anglo-Saxons, 73.
Taxes, levied by the Romans, 21; by the Saxons, 31; under the Anglo-Norman kings, 86; in the 13th and 14th centuries, 136; under Charles I., 322; in the 17th century, 332.
Taylor, Jeremy, works of, 366.
Tea, introduction of, 403.
Templars, Knights, suppression of, 148.
Temple, Middle, regulations for the law students of, 233, 234.
Temples, Druidical, 8.
Test act, passed in 1673, repealed in 1828, 235.
Teutonic, or Gothic race, 1, 2. 27.
Tewkesbury, example of mail and plate armour at, 185.
Thane, or Saxon noble, qualification of, 33; title of, succeeded by that of baron, 143.

Theatres, description of, *temp.* Elizabeth, 309. 363; in the 17th century, 363. 364. (*See* Drama.)
Theodore of Tarsus, 43.
Theology of the Britons, 7; of the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, 40; science of, in the 12th century, 99; writers on, 247. 366; scholastic, 260.
Thornhill, Sir James, 385.
Thornton, Abraham, trial of, for rape and murder at Sutton Coldfield, 38.
Thorpe, William, victim of the Lollard persecution, 155.
Tillotson, Archbishop, writings of, 372.
Tilts, 192. (*See* Tournaments.)
Tin of Cornwall and the Scilly Islands, trade in, with the Phœnicians, 20.
Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, his code of laws for the tournament, 192.
Tithes, institution of, 44.
Tithing, a territorial division of the country by the Saxons, 35.
Tobacco, cultivation of, 406.
Tobias, bishop of Rochester, 51.
Tolls and turnpikes, 289. 416.
Tong church, roof of the chantry of, 268.
Tonnage, customs duty of, 137.
Tonsure clerical, disputes concerning, 43.
Torregiano, Pietro, the sculptor, 275.
Tortures, legal, in the 14th century, 139. 149; under Henry VIII., 230; under the "Commonwealth," 328; varieties of, 329; employment of, by Archbishop Sharp, in Scotland, 356.
Tory and Whig, origin of the terms, 327.
Tournament, description of the, 117; denunciation against, by the Church, 118; laws of, 188. 192.
Tower of London, painted glass windows in, 174.
Towers, round, of Ireland and Scotland, ecclesiastical origin of, 15.
Town, or township, its meaning among the Saxons, 36.
Trade, laws of Richard I. for regulation of, 121; restrictive laws on foreign, 196; London and provincial, 199; board of, 418. (*See* Commerce.)
Travelling, mode of, in the 16th century, 313. (*See* Coach.)
Treason, high, under Henry VII., 226.
Trial by jury, 82; by ordeal and wager of battle, 38. 82, 83.
Trivium, the, or division of study in the 12th century, 99.
Trumpington church, monumental brass of Sir Roger de Trumpington, 174. 183.
Tumbling, sport of, 129.
Tunstall, Bishop, public bonfires of Tyndal's New Testament by, 242.
Turnpikes and tolls, 289, 416.
Tusser's poem, "A Hondreth Good Points of Husbandrie," 298.
Tyler, Wat, insurrection under, 136. 138.

U.

Ulphus, horn of, 60.
Uniformity, act of, passed 1662, 354.
Universities in the 12th century, 98; in the 13th century, 164; in the 16th century, 258.
Usher, Archbishop, works of, 370.
Usury laws, 287, 288. (*See* Law.)

V.

Valentine's day, customs on, 317. 443.
Van Tromp, admiral, 397.
Vanbrugh, plays of, 364.
Vegetables and fruits, introduction of, 299; supply of, 420.
Venetians, trade with the, 203.
Verulamium, city of (St. Alban's), 5.
Villains, transformation of, into freemen, 137, 138.
Virgil, Lord Surrey's translation of, the first specimen of English blank verse, 262.
Virgilius, Bishop of Saltzburgh, 51.
Viscount, creation of the first, in 1439, 143.
Vitalis Ordericus, history by, 103.
Vortigern, 6.
Voyages of Cabot, 286, 287; Cavendish, 292; Chancellor, 287; Columbus, 286; Davis, 292; Diaz, 285; Drake, 291; Frobisher, *ib.*; V. de Gama, 285; Gilbert, 293; Hawkins, 287, 290; Lancaster, 400; Magellan, (or Magalhaens), 291; Raleigh, 293; Swithelm, 64; Willoughby, 287.

W.

Wager by battle, 38. (*See* Ordeal.)
Wages in the 15th century, 182. 207.
Wakefield Bridge chapel, sculpture in, 173.
Wales, origin of the Welsh, 2; ancient clergy of, 42; laws relating to, 139.

Waller, poetry of, 370.
Wapentakes, 35.
Ware, great bed of, 300.
Warner, William, the "Albion's England" of, 364.
Warrior in ringed mail, 62.
Warwick, Guy's Tower at, 174.
Watches, pocket, introduction of, 392.
Weapons and armour of the Britons, 17; of the Saxons, 62; of the 14th and 15th centuries, 184. 187. 190; of the 15th and 16th centuries, 279. (*See* Armour.)
Weaving, art of, 111. 391.
Webster, plays of, 362.
Weddings, customs at, in the 16th century, 312.
Wehrgeld, or fine among the Saxons, 37.
Welsh, origin of the term, 1, 2.
Wessex, kingdom of, under the Saxons, 28.
Westminster Abbey, founded, 46; sculpture in, 383.
———, fair at, instituted by Henry III., 195; streets of, in the 17th century, 416, 417; residences of the nobility at, 435.
Whale fishery, 293.
Wheat, price of, in 1044, 67; in the 12th century, 123.
Whethamstede, John de, "Chronicon" of, 168.
Whig and Tory, origin of the terms, 327.
Whitgift, Archbishop, 255.
Whitehall, ceiling of the banqueting-house at, 384.
Whittington, Richard, 203.
Wilfrid, of York, 53.
Wilkins, John, Bishop of Chester, works of, 377.
William, the Breton, epic by, 158.
——— the Conqueror, 78; great seal of, 79; taxes under, 86; income of, *ib.*; his patronage of literature, 97; life of, 103; navy of, 117.
Wilson, Thomas, "Art of Rhetoric," by, 263.
Winchester, St. Cross, Norman window of, 104; semi-Norman arches of, 106.
———, celebrated for its wine, 121.
Windmills, 110.
Windows, examples of Norman, 104; St. Giles's, Oxford, 170; Beverley minster, 170; Llan Tysilio, Anglesey, 171; New College chapel, Oxford, 178; painted glass, 208; Ladbrook church, Warwickshire, 268.
Windsor Castle, 174.
Wines of the 13th and 14th centuries, 214; of the 16th century, 311; of the 17th century, 429.
"Witchcraft," executions for, 357.
Witenagemot, the, or *Meeting of Wise Men*, 31, 32.
Wither, George, poetry of, 365.
Wodin, or Odin, deity of the Scandinavians, 40.
Wolsey, Cardinal, power of, 235. 237; grammar school of, at Ipswich, 258.
Women, treatment of, by the Saxons, 75.
Wooden buildings and roofs, 179, 180. (*See* Architecture)
Wool trade under the Saxons, 68.
——, English, laws prohibiting the exportation of, in 1261, 196; exports of, 198; quality of, in the 14th and 15th centuries, 203; export of, in the 16th century, 290.
Woollen cloth, art of weaving, introduced by the Flemings, 111; manufacture of, in the 16th century, 277.
——— manufacture in the 17th century, 390.
Worcester, tomb of King John at, 110.
Wren, Sir Christopher, mathematical knowledge of, 377; various works of, 380—382; plan of, for the restoration of London, 381; death and burial of, 382.
Wyatt, poetry of, 265.
Wycherley, plays of, 364.
Wycliffe, John de, the great reformer, 151; his translation of the Scriptures, 164; specimen of, 151.
Wynkyn de Worde, printer, 166; printer's mark of, 166.
Wynton, Andrew, Scotch poet, 164.

Y.

York minster, plan of, 177.

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